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The Editors
TWO REVOLUTIONS
John Garvey
USING GOD?

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Misappropriating Maritain

He remained a critic of capitalism to the day he died

BERNARD DOERING

RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK

Giles Gunn • Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza • Richard A. McCormick • Mary Lou Kownacki • Michael Wyschogrod • Renée Webber • Mark Searle • Cynthia C. Wedel • Albert J. Raboteau • Stephen Crites

An interview with Bruce Babbitt
Karen Sue Smith

The Pinochet grip in Chile • Political prisoners in Cuba
Francisco Guzman

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Correspondence

Lenders as stewards

Adrian, Mich.

To the Editors: Thank you for the fine article by Carol Coston, O.P., "A positive alternative for religious investors" [December 14]. Sister Carol has spent considerable time in study and research on alternative investments for the Adrian Dominican Congregation. Her leadership in this area along with other members of our Portfolio Advisory Board has given the entire Congregation confidence and courage in this area of our stewardship.

As religious groups share their experiences of alternative investments, the opportunity to participate more fully with those who struggle to take seriously the "option for the poor" is strengthened.

Perhaps in a significant but small way religious congregations are already implementing the "American Experiment" as mentioned in the recent first draft of the bishops' pastoral on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy.

SISTER CATHERINE C. DeCLERCQ, O.P.

The pope & Israel

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: In "The Pope and Israel," [January 11] Eugene Fisher makes some valid points about Vatican-Israel relations not widely known in the Jewish community. Israeli government leaders have been received in the Vatican and these visits have been recorded as state visits. And in recent years, the Vatican has not specifically called for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem but rather for international guarantees of the rights of the three religions in the city, which need not conflict with Israeli sovereignty over the city. And Fisher interprets current Vatican-Israel relations not only in *de facto* but also in *de jure* terms.

If all this is so, then why is there no exchange of ambassadors? There is reason to believe that the Vatican was not displeased at the recent inauguration of ambassadorial relations between it and the U.S. Is it difficult to understand that Israel and Jews worldwide would welcome such relations between the Vatican and Israel?

MICHAEL WYSCHOGROD

Jerusalem, Jerusalem

Baltimore, Md.

To the Editors: As a Jewish peacenik whose family came from Israel, I would like to add an addendum to Dr. Fisher's article "The Pope and Israel" [January 11]. The problem of Jerusalem is the last issue to settle in the Middle East. To bring and convince the Israelis and the Palestinians to negotiate is the first step. This can only be done if the United States and the Soviet Union agree that a settlement is in their best interests. Of course the hardliners and the irredentists on both sides are a stumbling block. As for Jerusalem, the rights of the Arabs and the holy place must be considered in an overall settlement. To explain the blocks towards settlement would take more time and space.

MELVIN N. COHEN

Slouching toward peace

Staten Island, N.Y.

To the Editors: The article, "A Different Kind of Politics," [December 14] gave a picture of part of the terrible things happening in nationalist Derry, and of that great and good man John Hume of the SDLP, and his wife Pat.

In recounting the personalities of the Humes and the bravery of those who are attempting to achieve civil rights for the Irish nationalists of Derry, the cruelty of the British army's treatment of them — raids on homes, arrests without charge, detention centers — must be emphasized and not lost sight of. They are everyday occurrences. Mrs. Thatcher's rejection of the Irish peace proposals, without offering anything as a substitute, has doomed another generation of Irish youth in the North to terrible suffering with murder, discord, disruption, and unemployment of 75 percent in places, as constants. She has given support to the IRA.

One must understand the position of Sinn Fein. It is the legal political arm of the IRA. Many of those who voted for John Hume and the SDLP in Northern Ireland before will vote for Sinn Fein now that Britain has rejected the peace proposals of the Irish Government, which Mr. Hume had a very important hand in, because they see clearly that Hume's plans will not change the British attitude which in the final analysis is to cause the Irish to give up their struggle for independence by attrition and personal suffering. Britain believes it is winning the battle against the IRA. The consequences of Mrs. Thatcher's decision for the future of Irish nationalists in the North is conflict, subordination, unemployment, and poverty. Stormont, the Northern Ireland government, had planned such inferiority for them since it was established in 1920. Such a policy was a continuation of what the British government, historically, had imposed on the Irish people for hundreds of years, a system of dependence, penury, landlordism, and oppression, until they achieved independence in the Irish Free State by fighting for it. Sinn Fein has said all along that the Irish will gain nothing from Britain except by force.

John Hume and the SDLP thought they could offer the people of Derry and Belfast and Northern Ireland more than that. He thought he could offer Irish nationalists peace and a future. He made a good try. Mrs. Thatcher and Britain have said no. They indicated they will not have a limitation of British sovereignty in Northern Ireland. There is no evidence of compromise on their part. Britain will

(Continued on page 127)

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WHICH REVOLUTION?

ONLY IN America. Within the span of several months, the nation has been called not to one but *two* new American revolutions. Comparisons are unavoidable.

"The time has come to proceed toward a great new challenge — a Second American Revolution of hope and opportunity; a revolution carrying us to new heights of progress by pushing back frontiers of knowledge and space; a revolution of spirit that taps the soul of America, enabling us to summon greater strength than we have ever known; and a revolution that carries beyond our shores the golden promise of human freedom."

That was President Reagan in his State of the Union address at the beginning of February.

"This economic challenge we all face today has many parallels with the political challenge that confronted the founders of our nation. In order to create a new kind of political democracy they were compelled to develop ways of thinking and political institutions which had never existed before. . . . We believe the time has come for a similar experiment in economic democracy: the creation of an order that guarantees the minimum conditions of human dignity in the economic sphere for every person."

That was a Committee of Catholic bishops in their first draft of a pastoral letter on the economy, issued last November.

According to the bishops, a new "American Experiment" in economic democracy implies both an evolution of institutions and a transformation of attitudes. It involves the recognition of economic rights — to a minimum level of material welfare, to an opportunity for self-realization and community contribution through worthwhile work, to a collaborative share in the direction of one's economic activity. But a new American revolution also entails an enlivened sense of human solidarity and a determination that no one be excluded, through poverty, racial or sexual discrimination, gross inequality, or joblessness, from active participation in the building of the common good.

It was precisely this kind of proposal, accompanied by a number of moderately left-of-center particulars, that earned the bishops' letter such a rocky reception. "Off-the wall utopians," pronounced the conservative *National Review*. "Magisterial righteousness" and "profound naiveté," declared Charles Krauthammer of the occasionally liberal *New Republic*. "Childlike innocence — or vanity," ruled George F. Will, after explaining, "In the mental world to which the bishops, in their flight from complexity, have immigrated, there are no intellectual difficulties, no insoluble problems; there are only shortages of good will." (No pun, we presume, intended.)

It will be instructive to see whether these observers are knocked similarly aghast by the president's State of the Union. The president, we suspect, will be granted

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leeway to be "bouyant," "confident," "optimistic," "visionary." Bishops, by contrast, are expected to be "realistic." "There are no constraints on the human mind, no walls around the human spirit, no barriers to our progress except those we ourselves erect." No, that is not George F. Will mocking the bishops for their "flight from complexity" or Mr. Krauthammer lecturing them on their "obliviousness to the intractability of certain problems." It is just the president being "bullish." "Two hundred years of American history," he told the nation, "should have taught us that nothing is impossible."

This, then, is the first of the contrasts between these two visions of latter-day American revolutions. The president's will burst all frontiers of knowledge and flourish in the heavens as on earth. The bishops are far more cautious, more tentative, more cognizant of sin, of America's failings, of the temptations of power and wealth.

But the greatest contrast between the two revolutions is that the president's is essentially technological and the bishops' is social.

Lasers, semiconductors, a permanently manned space station manufacturing medicines and crystals for supercomputers, offering "new opportunities for free enterprise" — these are the pivotal images of Mr. Reagan's vision. Measures for saving lives are underlined by the president — revolutions in heart surgery, cancer diagnosis, cutting hospital costs, and other "medical breakthroughs beyond anything we ever dreamed possible," to be achieved through laser techniques and space manufacture. This, in the same speech where the president admits — and very delicately at that, given the extent of the problem — the necessity of curtailing "our major health care programs." The ultimate lifesaving device is also technological: the Strategic Defense Initiative. "It could save millions of lives, indeed humanity itself." Surely no "childlike innocence" here.

The president's Second American Revolution is cast in terms of breaking natural frontiers, "unleashing . . . pent-up power," liberating energies, struggling, and overcoming. Poverty will be relieved by creating "a new generation of entrepreneurs." When Mr. Reagan speaks of the nation's "great ability to produce more, do more, be more," it is the first of those capacities that seems to define the others. The note is one of energetic expansion, if not even explosion. It is, to use the stereotype, a decidedly "masculine" vision.

The bishops' second American revolution is rather different. One senses that it will be achieved gradually and with difficulty. It is a revolution not primarily of producing but of sharing, including, participating, collaborating, enabling. The note is one of interaction and nurture — a relatively "feminine" vision, if you will. The bishops, one feels confident, are more concerned that the elderly not be abandoned in their illnesses than that we revolutionize bypass surgery with lasers or move the pharmaceutical industry, along with the military, into space.

Ever since the bishops released the first draft of their economics pastoral, it has been commonplace for critics to remark that there is no disagreement over the bishops' objectives, only over choosing the best means to those objectives. It is true that there is plenty of the latter kind of disagreement — as there will be over the question of whether the Reagan administration's specific budget proposals actually match its dazzling portrait of our future. But a comparison of the two proposed "revolutions" indicates that disagreement — even radical disagreement — exists at a deeper level as well, at the level of ends as well as of means.

At the moment, of course, it is the president's vision which has the greater hold on the public's imagination. Mr. Reagan has successfully appropriated certain deeply rooted and highly potent themes of the religion of "Americanism"; and it is hard to know the extent to which the bishops, too, might draw on these themes to strengthen their own vision without finally betraying it. But the president's success also owes much to the fact that his "revolution" is far less profound than the bishops'. It is more a continuation of the recent revolutions in industrial production and consumption than a renewal of the social and political revolutions of the 1770s and 1780s. It extends the system — which the bishops would transform.

The courts & the press

DEFAME GAME

LIBEL: THE MIDAS TOUCH

THE CURRENT, raging controversy about defamation suits by public officials, ex-public officials, and public figures against the media has completely ignored a critical element — the requirement that any libel action be accompanied by provable and measurable damages. The Alabama police chief who sued in *New York Times* v. *Sullivan* only had the limited imagination to claim $500,000 as compensatory damages (the jury agreed) — although, as Justice Black noted in that 1964 landmark case, in reality the claim that Sullivan participated in violations of civil rights probably enhanced his reputation among southern whites. Inflation has had its way in libel suits, as elsewhere; and today, it is not uncommon for plaintiffs such as General Westmoreland and Ariel Sharon to allege damages in the millions, if not the hundreds of millions.

Although the *Sullivan* decision itself did not limit damages awards, as many had hoped, ten years later the Supreme Court held the traditional common law rule that "presumed" damages in libel actions to be unconstitutional. Despite this somewhat belated concern with the subject of damages, the major libel decisions of the last twenty years have revolved about such esoteric issues as just who is a "public figure" and what is "malice" in the constitutional sense (the question which ultimately defeated Sharon's case). It is time to focus again on the issue of damages. More importantly, the courts should now require that issues of damages be litigated first, not last, at least when public figures are suing.

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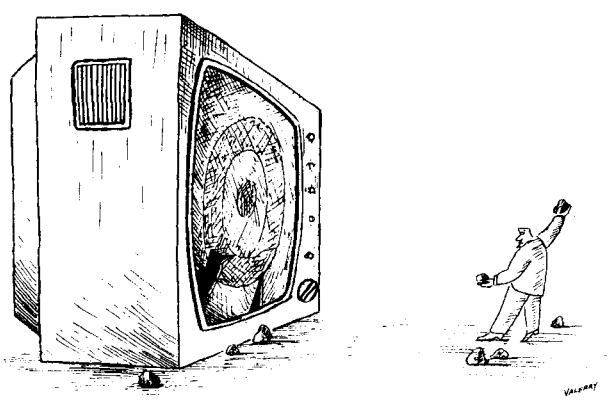
The present configuration of a libel suit involves: (a) a complaint alleging that something written was false, harmful, and malicious (in both the traditional sense of ill-will or personal vindictiveness and the *Sullivan* sense of "knowing or reckless" falsity); (b) an unsuccessful motion to throw the case out; (c) lengthy "discovery" proceedings where each side spends considerable sums to learn the other side's case before trial; (d) usually, another motion to dismiss the action using the accumulated materials so "discovered"; and (e) extensive and expensive trials after the (by-now predictable) denial of the second attempt to dismiss the action. The result has often been that juries, apparently inflamed by the grossness of defendant's alleged conduct, are ready to award almost anything demanded by the plaintiff; the resulting verdicts are often in the millions of dollars, without much evidence or proof of harm. While many, probably most, of the bizarre, even outrageous, jury determinations have been reduced either by trial or appellate judges, one cannot be confident that this will continue, especially when both judges and juries become convinced that, in fact, the media have violated the apparently "liberal" Sullivan standards governing the merits of the action. The twin threats to the media — the costs of litigating, and frequent awards of high damages — are compounded by the costs of an appeal (which may not necessarily be won). These problems can be reduced by requiring an initial determination (before expenses have skyrocketed) of the maximum amount of damages allowable to a plaintiff.

Immediately after the failure of the first attempt to dismiss the action, the plaintiff should be required to present evidence in a "mini-trial" solely on the issue of damages. Prior to this, limited "discovery" proceedings solely on this issue would be allowed, if the parties so desire. After presentation of the relevant evidence by both sides, the jury would determine the maximum amount of damages possible — subject, of course, to the judge's present right to reduce the finding. Any award would be more realistic than the present system, since the jury has not had the opportunity to build up the kind of animus that accompanies protracted, often overheated, courtroom litigation and its pyrotechnics. This would partially mirror the traditional notion that defamatory writings, irrespective of falsity, can cause great harm (the basis for the now outmoded requirement that truth was a defense to be proven by the writer); yet, it also accords with the modern view that damages cannot be "presumed" and that the plaintiff must show them by "clear and convincing" proof. This proposal would help insure that such proof is presented in a rational atmosphere. Since the plaintiff's claim will be assumed to be true, solely for the purpose of this proceeding, the jury can fully and undistractedly concentrate on the narrow issue before it.



Once potential damages have been established, both parties will be in a better position to determine their strategies. The plaintiff may be encouraged to see things more "realistically" and may even decide that a "symbolic" award of damages is sufficient — much like the old English rule that permitted a penny award to vindicate the plaintiff's name in the absence of real damages. There will be no need to go through a full trial to arrive at the kind of symbolic victory often sought by outraged plaintiffs.

The defendant would also have to make certain basic decisions — whether to settle for the figure awarded, thus ending the case. Perhaps an amount awarded that is high but not outrageous would be used to negotiate a lower "settlement" of the action. Any election of payment under these circumstances, absent a full trial on the merits, would function as only a limited admission of liability — much like a consent decree in a civil action ("I don't admit to having done it, but I won't do so again") or a "nolo contendere" plea in a criminal action. Of course, a defendant will still have the option of litigating the matter, though with full knowledge of the upper limits of its legal liability should it lose. Indeed, a defendant — but not the plaintiff — would have the further option of introducing evidence at either the mini- or the main trial to mitigate damages.

It might be argued that this would put pressure on media defendants to settle cases they would ordinarily fight, but this pressure is present in any libel action. Perhaps an award of damages, if high, at an early stage of the proceeding would harm the defendant in the eyes of the public, especially since many may not realize that only the question of *possible* damage and not that of basic liability has been resolved. Presumably, the media would have an interest in educating the public on the significance of any ruling on damages. Also, the "damages" jury's decision would focus public attention on the vital issue of just how much, if at all, the defendant has really been hurt. On balance, I believe, there would be greater pressure on plaintiffs than on defendants.

In the event that the action is continued, a different jury should be chosen to try the case on its merits since the damages jury may be unduly influenced either way by its previous assessment of damages.

The important psychological aspect of this proposal is that it will give the issue of damages the scrutiny it deserves and frequently does not receive. Unfortunately, the "rules" about permissible damages are biased against valid determinations of actual damages, in part because the Supreme Court in 1976 widened the scope of such damages to a degree which has often proved vague and even intolerable. In *Time, Inc.* v. *Firestone* it permitted a damages award to a plaintiff who apparently did

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not have much of a reputation to protect (and who indeed specifically withdrew the issue of reputation from her claim of emotional distress and other similar damages). Indeed, Jerry Falwell has just recovered $100,000 in damages for emotional distress alone for a media defendant's parody deemed not to be libelous for other reasons. At least in *Firestone*, the plaintiff was required to show both falsity and harm, while Falwell involved only outrageousness and harm; in both cases, however, the traditional interest in reputation, long thought to be the gravamen of a defamation action, was simply ignored. Clearly, any gains in media protection offered by this proposal would be diminished in practice if the rules of damages, especially those for emotional distress, were not narrowed. At the minimum, judges instructing damages juries should pay close attention to these rules and charge, at least, that public figures should be reasonably expected to be "thick-skinned" about attacks upon them. For damages other than emotional distress, traditional rules are probably adequate. The issue of punitive damages — a hotly debated one, in the case of public figures — is beyond the purview of this article.

In the most perfect of possible worlds, this proposal would be unnecessary, since, in theory, only real damages should be awarded. Obviously, this is not what has happened since 1974, nor is it happening now. What presently exists is a virtual presumption that, if a media attack on an individual is severe enough, there will be, in reality, "presumed" (and very heavy) damages. This proposal will enable a jury to measure only damages separately, and will diminish the opportunity to make each libel action a continuing referendum on media practices (a referendum the media often loses). Perhaps, finally, for many plaintiffs eager to jump onto the great bandwagon, the game will not be worth the candle. ISIDORE SILVER

(Isidore Silver teaches constitutional law and history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.)

Church under fire

THE PINOCHET GRIP

CHILE'S LONG ORDEAL

IN THE ELEVEN YEARS since General Augusto Pinochet seized power in Chile in a bloody coup, relations between his government and the Catholic church have often been strained. But since the declaration of a state of siege on November 6, due in part to the fact that sixteen Chilean bishops met with several hundred of the more than ten thousand Chilean victims of enforced exile, thereby making an illusory "opening to democracy" more difficult, relations have never come as close to the breaking point as they are now. Recent measures by the authoritarian regime are tantamount to a persecution of the church never before seen in that predominantly Catholic country.

By a curious coincidence, pressures against the church have been increased at the moment when Argentina and Chile have accepted the results of papal mediation in their dispute over sovereignty of the Beagle Channel. The recent signing of the protocol in Rome took place in a peaceful atmosphere that was far different from the threats and signs of imminent war that existed between the two countries less than four years ago.

The meeting of the Chilean bishops in Rome with exiles during their *ad limina* visit grew out of the prelates' desire to see what type of pastoral assistance might be offered to these people, some of whom have now spent more than ten years outside their country. The minister of interior, Sergio Onofre Jarpa Reyes, a long-time conservative politician, took advantage of this meeting to resign his post, supposedly to leave President Pinochet free to rearrange his cabinet as the circumstances might warrant. Several days later, Jarpa and all but one of the ministers of the cabinet were reinstated to their original positions. The only change that had taken place was that a state of siege had replaced Jarpa's ineffective policies of promoting an opening to democratic opposition leaders. The year of Jarpa's efforts included little or no dialogue, but had been marked by the continual arrests of prominent democratic leaders.

In addition to the usual curtailment of civil liberties, a total censorship of the mass media was imposed, including a virtual blackout of information on events within Chile, except for visits and speeches of Pinochet and other military leaders. In early to mid-December, house-to-house searches in poor sectors of Santiago took place to further terrorize the populace. These searches, sometimes carried out by more than six thousand heavily armed soldiers, were often accompanied by the detention of every male sixteen years of age or older, beatings of women and children, and wanton destruction of what little the poor possessed. Low-flying helicopter gunships and the sound of machine gun fire often punctuated the nights during the five hours of curfew.

Pinochet's regime had apparently appealed to Pope John Paul, without success, to replace the bishops who had participated in the Rome meeting. This action occurred shortly after a special ambassador was reportedly dispatched to Rome to report to the Vatican on the political conduct of the Chilean bishops, and to request for Pinochet the power to name future members of the Chilean hierarchy. The ambassador was not

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received by the pope or by any other Vatican official.

The Chilean government has been careful to keep diplomatic lines intact with the Papal Nunciature in Santiago. Seven of the eight priests and religious detained in Santiago during the past four weeks have been released to the Papal Nuncio, rather than to Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno of Santiago, their more direct ecclesiastical superior. The eighth priest, Columban Father Dennis O'Mara, was expelled from Chile following his fifth arrest in twelve months for participation in an anti-torture group formed mainly by priests called *Movimiento Sebastian Acevedo*. This group espouses nonviolent protest against the use of torture by Chilean police agencies, and claims more than five hundred documented cases within the past year.

In addition to the arrests of religious, the government expelled Spanish Jesuit Monsignor Ignacio Gutierrez, Vicar for Solidarity, the archdiocesan office which has been documenting cases of human rights violations and offering all types of support to the victims of Pinochet's regime. This expulsion was seen as being especially significant, since it marks the first time a person specifically designated for a task by the Archbishop of Santiago has been impeded from carrying out that assignment.

Two weeks after Gutierrez's case was made public, a pastoral letter of Archbishop Fresno and a public statement by the Chilean Episcopal Conference were completely censored by the government. The letter called for a day of prayer and fasting for peace and reconciliation, and was read at the churches following Sunday Mass. The police did not intervene subsequently in the prayer services which occurred.

In Punta Arenas, however, a conference sponsored by the bishop of that city to mark the worldwide observance of human rights day was prohibited by local authorities, as was a public Eucharist that was to be part of the celebration. A similar measure had been taken earlier in Santiago, when the eleventh annual *Semanas Sociales*, a week of conferences dedicated to a study of the social teaching of the Catholic church, was also prohibited.

Many observers of the Chilean scene believe that these measures, and the increased level of political repression in Chile, especially in poor working-class areas and of youth, are effectively eliminating the democratic parties from any future role in the country, and greatly strengthening the Communist Party of Chile.

FRANCISCO GUZMAN

(Francisco Guzman is the pseudonym of an American priest who served many years in Chile.)

Of several minds: *John Garvey*

TEMPTATION TO BE RIGHT

THE IDOLATRY OF THE FAITHFUL

> *"Your eye is the light of your body; when your eye is sound, your whole body is full of light; but when it is not sound, your body is full of darkness."*
>
> — Luke 11:34-35

THE PROBLEM with Scripture is that we can think we know what it means, and feel that we've got it tied down: we know what we are supposed to do, how we are supposed to act, and the Book is there as a proof to back us up. Fundamentalists are good at this — it is practically their stock in trade — but Christians of every other stripe do the same thing. Pacifists point to Jesus telling Peter to put his sword away; militarists point to Luke 22, where Jesus tells his disciples that his original instructions to travel light, without provisions of any sort, have changed: "But now, let him who has a purse take it, and likewise a bag. And let him who has no sword sell his mantle and buy one." In *The Everlasting Gospel* Blake wrote, "The Vision of Christ that thou dost see/Is my Vision's Greatest Enemy. . . ./Thine loves the same world that mine hates,/Thy Heaven Doors are my Hell Gates."

We are tempted constantly to make use of Christ, or any vision of God. To the extent that we do this we make an idol of God. It is difficult for us to realize that it is possible for us to worship a false god, believing it with all our hearts to be true. If we firmly believe that our cause is just, if it seems to us that anything which contradicts our vision is immoral, it is natural for us to seize upon the authority of the Bible or religious tradition to back us up. But in doing this we overlook the contradictory and equally authoritative passages of Scripture or elements of tradition; and we deal with this by saying that our own interpretation is a reflection of the *real* spirit of Scripture and the tradition of the church. Our opponents, who are apparently at a farther remove from the Holy Spirit than we are, don't understand this.

No matter how good our intentions are, or how noble the cause, this is a form of idolatry. What concerns us is not God's truth, which is at its depths unknowable and absolutely incomprehensible, but ideas which seem to us to be true. We can be so passionately attached to those ideas that we find it impossible to believe God doesn't share our opinion. This is not to say that our ideas may not in fact be noble and good and true. I am committed — or anyway I hope I am — to a nonviolent approach to life and morality. But I know I have been guilty of moving from this belief to an assertion that it is definitely and incontrovertibly to be found in Scripture and church tradition. And it can indeed be found there — along with a belief in the just-war theory and a theological defense of holy wars.

Is there any way out of this dilemma? It really *is* a dilemma, and one which matters deeply not only to our way of approaching morality at personal and social levels; it matters to our relationship

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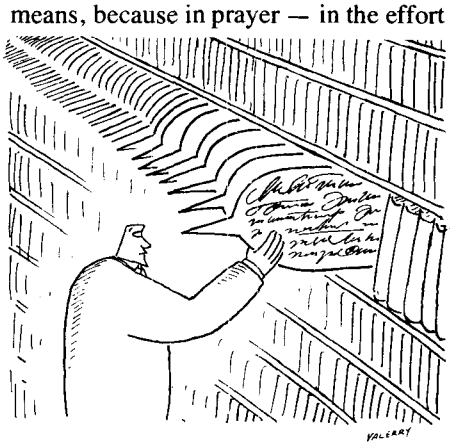
with God. On the one hand, we cannot be so open-ended about moral and religious issues that absolutely anything is considered as true as anything else. On the other, we must avoid the idolatry which makes an idol of our own belief. The temptation is to look for some clear standard of truth — the ecumenical councils, the Bible, the papacy. But when we do this we see that some councils which were considered truly ecumenical at the time were later not accepted as such; we frequently find interpretations of the Bible in contradiction; we find that the papacy is as full of contradiction as any other source. So we look to the long haul, the beliefs that have survived and transcended all of this contradiction.

For Catholic and Orthodox Christians that includes a belief in creeds and sacraments, a general agreement with the councils of the early church, and a moral code which involves the commandments of the Old Testament and the spirit of the Beatitudes in the New Testament. There is little more than this. On many matters involving war and peace, sexual morality, politics, and the economy, we are given some help from the tradition. We also find some hindrances there too — defenses of slavery, for example — and as always there are contradictory directions. Trying to find a clear and unambiguous moral path by looking at Scripture and tradition is a little like trying to get clear and unambiguous directions while traveling in Ireland. It really can't be done, though everyone you talk to will be very sure.

We go at our relationship to God's truths in precisely the wrong way. We begin by assuming that they must correspond to and undergird our own. There are statements about prayer which contain a share of truth, but help to reinforce this dangerous tendency. They include the idea, frequently expressed, that our political and social involvements should be grounded in prayer. That is certainly true; the danger is that we will treat prayer as a form of therapy which exists to recharge our batteries so that we will have all the energy we need to do the really important work, which is not praying but activity of another sort. It is when this activity is most apparently virtuous that it is most likely to mislead us. We are not sufficiently humble before the fact that every convinced Nazi, fascist, Communist, crusader, Inquisitor, book-burner, vigilante, or member of a lynch mob is where he is because of the burning conviction that he is right, and stands where he stands against the forces of wrong-headedness or absolute evil. *Our* conviction, being right, is of course a different thing.

What we need is a truly radical humility, one which can abandon any need to be right. This is terribly difficult, because it could seem to be an indifference to truth. But our need to be right has nothing to do with any love of the truth at all — it is essential for us to understand this. The strangeness of Christ is a lesson for us: the contradictions are calls to a wider and more difficult view of life than we want. After his Resurrection he appeared not as he might have been expected to appear, but as a stranger. We are told, "Be careful lest the light in you be darkness." He does not say that it will not appear to us to be light; he cautions us that what seems to us to be light may in fact not be.

In his essay "The Unity of the Triune God" (printed in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Number 3, 1984) Jurgen Moltmann quotes St. Gregory of Nyssa: "Concepts create idols; only wonder comprehends anything." People kill one another over idols. Wonder makes us fall to our knees. Revelation tells us that we are created from nothing, called into being and given a freedom which is not at all easy to comprehend, and can never be comprehended completely. Prayer is the way towards seeing what all of this means, because in prayer — in the effort to be attentive — we learn how radically contingent we are, how absolutely dependent on someone unknowable. That we have been called forth from nothingness, in love, is revealed, not as a fact but as an openness which can be responded to honestly only with an emptiness of our own, an acknowledgment of our absolute insufficiency. This emptiness is the place where compassion can be born, because it is absolutely shared with everything else in creation it is the common ground of our being.



"When the eye is sound, the whole body is full of light." How can we be sure that the eye is sound? It could be that sureness is not what is called for here, but humility. Jesus tells us not to look for ways to be sure, but rather to take care. Gregory of Nyssa's words suggest that a lack of wonder leads to idolatry. Only a lack of wonder could lead us to look at what Scripture and tradition tell us, and come up with concepts. This is not only the recurrent temptation of theologians, but of any churchgoer who believes that what Christianity involves is clear and simple, a matter of having the right politics or ethics. Political or ethical thinking which is unredeemed by compassion leads us to think of ourselves as sufficient, because we are right. Our rightness fills us up. It leads us to ignore the emptiness that is part of being created. So much of what we regard as evil is a result of trying to fill up that emptiness falsely. Bertolt Brecht's poem, "Concerning the Infanticide, Maria Farrar" (from *Selected Poems*, translated and edited by H.R. Hays, Grove, 1959) is right to the point. It is an excruciating description of agony, and ends,

She brings home to you all men's sin.
You who bear pleasantly between clean sheets
And give the name 'blessed' to your womb's weight
Must not damn the weakness of the outcast,
For her sin was black but her pain was great.
Therefore, I beg you, check your wrath and scorn
For man needs help from every creature born.

JOHN GARVEY

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A CRITIC OF CAPITALISM TO THE DAY HE DIED

Misappropriating Maritain

BERNARD DOERING

IN 1982 in a volume honoring the centenary of the birth of Jacques Maritain, there appeared, amidst memories and eulogies from all across the globe, a short text by Maritain himself that had never before been published. The text was entitled "A Society Without Money, the Only Truly Radical Revolution." It was the very last text he wrote, an original draft which Maritain had no time to show to anyone or to revise in any way. It was completed on the eve of his death "at the cost of a vast and fearful effort, not only of his imagination," as he says, but also of his poor, fragile body. He knew his end was near and he must have felt a particular urgency to put down in more specific detail his idea of that "third way," "beyond both capitalism and socialism," of which he had spoken so often, but only in general terms, throughout his life.

This text is an historically important document for two reasons. First of all because it indicates the importance of the subject for Maritain himself. It was a subject which "haunted" him, as he says, all of his life from the time he first broached it in 1930, and which pursued him till his dying day.

Secondly, the text shows the fundamental continuity in Maritain's thought on economic rights. It is particularly important that the nature of this continuity be recognized today when, by skillful selectivity in the use of quotations, especially from his *Reflections on America*, a procrustean effort is being made by some to pass Maritain off as the theological and philosophical champion of American "democratic capitalism."

MARITAIN was by profession and by inclination a speculative philosopher, a metaphysician. He would have preferred to devote himself to a life of contemplation, which he, like Aristotle, considered the noblest of human activities. But he felt bound in conscience to turn his thought toward the solution of the tragic political, social, and economic problems that plagued the world of his adult life. His extended considerations of economic problems are contained principally in five books: *Religion and Culture* (1930), *Freedom in the Modern World* (1933), *Integral Humanism* (1936), *Raisons et Raisons* (1939) and *Reflections on America* (1958), and in a manifesto called *Pour le Bien Commun* (1934).

In the first of these works, *Religion and Culture*, after speaking of the superiority of the contemplative life over the active life, he insists that this hierarchy of values is completely reversed in the capitalist conception where the supremacy of the economic is based on the false and falsifying principle of the fecundity of money, "a fecundity which, like everything that transgresses the conditions laid down by nature, knows no limits" and shows "to what an extent the materialist or capitalist or Marxian conception of culture is at variance with the mind of the Common Doctor of the church."

At the end of this book Maritain adds a summary explanation of what he means by "fecundity of money," with the promise of someday writing a more complete explanation, a promise he was unable to keep until a few days before his death when he wrote "A Society Without Money." In this early postscript, Maritain's explanation turns on a contrast between a theoretically faultless system, on the one hand, in which an owner's investment and profit always remained subordinate to the needs of a productive enterprise—supplying necessary equipment, raw materials, etc.—and the actual reality, on the other hand, of capitalism: "In the concrete, this same faultless scheme works in an absolute different fashion. . . . The fundamental mechanism retains the same configuration," but the values informing it have been reversed. The productive undertaking, with all its human activities, is no longer "the living organism" nourished by money, but money, instead, becomes the living organism of which the actual production is only nourishment and instrument. "Profits cease to be the normal fruit of the undertaking fed with money, and become the normal fruit of the money fed by the undertaking. That is what I call the fecundity of money." The immediate consequence of this reversal in values is "to give the rights of

BERNARD DOERING *is a professor of French literature at the University of Notre Dame, and the author of* Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals (University of Notre Dame Press, 1983).

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dividends precedence over those of salary." The whole economy is regulated by the "laws and fluidity" of what should be only a "sign," namely money, "predominating over the *thing*, commodities useful to humanity."

In short, the economic rights of people are subordinated to the rights of money.

The same themes were found in the 1934 manifesto, *Pour Le Bien Commun*. This was composed by Maritain with the collaboration of four friends and signed by fifty-two French Catholic intellectuals as a response to the February 6 street riots which showed how vulnerable France was to a fascist takeover. In the manifesto Maritain claimed that the new civilization, which would replace that of bankrupt economic liberation, would have to be one which would assure the necessities of a good life to all the members of the community. The capitalist system, as it was organized at the time, he said, could not continue without the menace of pauperism for those who do not find a place in the directive echelons of the corporations. He recognized the difficulty of defining such a society, not only because its organization and practical working would be so very different from the present one, but also, and principally, because it would be bound, "as in every reform of human institutions, to a change of minds and hearts, it would imply a change in the very spirit which animates the economy and stamps it with its mark." No longer would the "fedundity of money" play a formative role in society but rather "the dignity of work and the submission of material goods to the true needs of man." This would require a general austerity and "the rejection of the ideal of production at any cost."

Three years later in his *Freedom in the Modern World*, Maritain turned his attention again to the economic problems of contemporary society. He insisted that "the mere idea of any bond of fellowship between Christianity and such a [capitalist] society is itself the height of paradox." The fact that many contemporaries, he said, are able in good faith to believe that religion and the church are in any way pledged to defend the "eminent dignity of capitalism" was for Maritain a sign that good faith is not synonomous with intelligence and that the opinions of men move among shadows where things appear inverted.

After declaring that "the successive condemnations of usury by the church stand at the threshold of modern times like a burning question mark as to the lawfulness of its economy," Maritain returns to a consideration of the capitalist economy. This should be criticized, he says, not in virtue of the Marxist theory of surplus value or the rejection in principle of the institution of private property, but rather because it is wedded to the unnatural principle of the fecundity of money. He again makes the distinction between the ideal world in which a capitalist economy need not be considered objectionable or sinful in itself, and the world of concrete reality where capitalism is a "vicious economy" animated by the "hatred of poverty and the contempt of the poor." The work of the Christian involves a "radical reform that will change . . . the essential principles" of the existing capitalist regime.

IN WHAT IS probably his most famous book *Integral Humanism* (1936), Maritain turned to more practical considerations of what would replace capitalism. Such a regime would be animated by a spirit of fraternal cooperation rather than by divisive competition. In an industrial civilization based on the perfection of machinery, the rationalization of labor, and the mobilization of finance, collectivization is inevitable, whether on the part of the state or of industry itself. In the new personalist and communal regime, the status of the industrial economy would not suppress this collectivization but would reorganize it for the benefit of the human person.

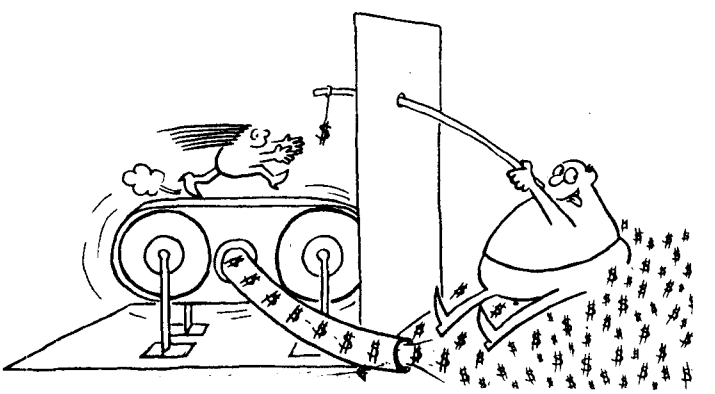
Citing St. Thomas Aquinas, Maritain points out that "the use of goods individually appropriated must itself serve the common good of all." Capitalism has forgotten the law of common use.

This law of *common use* implies for Maritain an "associative" ownership of the means of production and the co-ownership of the enterprise. In order for a collective form of ownership to be efficacious, he says, it is necessary that it be a personalized possession. "The co-ownership of the *means of work*" entails the possession not "of a thing in space but of a form of activity in time." Co-ownership "should serve to give a title and social guarantee to the bringing into action of that which is fundamentally and inalienably the property of the worker: his personal forces, his intelligence, and his arms."

In Maritain's view this communal organization must operate "from below upwards, according to the principles of personalist democracy, with the suffrage and active personal participation of all the interested ones at the base."

It is an axiom of the capitalist economy and mercantile civilization that *one gets nothing for nothing*, an axiom linked to the individualist conception of property. Under the rule of the law of *common use*, Maritain feels that "for what concerns the primary needs — material and spiritual — of the human being, it is fitting that one get for nothing as many things as possible." Distribution should be exercised "not by the state, but the different organic communities, beginning with the family community, that integrate the economic structure of society." Provision of primordial necessities for each person "is after all only the first condition of an economy which does not merit the name 'barbarous.' "

In one of his magazine articles, François Mauriac quoted



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Maritain's *Integral Humanism:* "As long as modern society secretes poverty as the product of its normal functioning, there can be no rest for the Christian."

This quotation caught the eye of the great poet Paul Claudel and sent him into a towering rage. "This is specious," shouted the great poet in *Le Figaro*, suggesting sarcastically that the great philosopher seemed never to have heard of the Scholastic distinction between *per se* and *per accidens*. There followed a lengthy exchange of letters to the editors which seemed to get nowhere. Finally Maritain decided to put an end to the controversy with an article later published in *Raison et Raison*, though not included in the English translation. In this article Maritain declared:

> I said that modern societies secrete poverty as a normal product of their functioning. I did not say, what would have been a simply absurd assertion, that they have as their end to produce poverty. . . .
>
> Nor did I say, what would have been a typically Marxist assertion, that every society that accepts the principle of the private ownership of the means of production, and the legitimacy of profit on capital invested in an enterprise, necessarily . . . produces poverty in and of itself.
>
> I spoke of modern societies, such as they exist in their concrete reality. It is clear that if, as I think, their functioning secretes poverty in and of itself, it is not by virtue of what there is in them that conforms to the nature of things, but by virtue of an organic disorder which vitiates them . . .
>
> And what is the organic disorder that vitiates these modern societies? . . . It consists in this that due to the absence of any superior ethical norm, and by virtue of the principles of economic liberalism — producing of themselves by a kind of reaction the state socialism and the economic dictatorships of our times — modern societies are animated by a spirit which makes the principal end of material riches the ceaseless movement to engender more material riches.

MARITAIN moved permanently to the United States in 1939 and, except for his regular summer visits to his homeland after the war and the years he spent in Rome as Ambassador of France to the Vatican, he remained here till 1960. In 1956 he was invited to give the series of lectures that were later published as *Reflections on America*. This book was a kind of love-letter to the country he had come to love very deeply.

Recently this book has been mistaken as evidence of a profound change in Maritain's attitude toward a capitalist economy, as if the capitalism he discovered in America were the practical embodiment of his conception of a just and humane economic organization of society. To find this idea in *Reflections on America*, one would have to come to the book with very strong prejudices and wearing intellectual blinders. Maritain saw America as a land of promise, of possibility, through the spirit of the people, that American penchant for grass-roots participation in the life of the city, that sense of personal involvement, "establishing itself from below upwards with the suffrage and active participation of all the interested ones at the base," as was quoted above from *Integral Humanism*. And in this spirit, which he found exemplified in one form, though in a far from perfect way, in the American labor movement, he saw the *hope*, not the realization, of that "radical reform" he considered necessary in society. He saw the social legislation, enacted through America's participatory personalist democracy, and the "humanization" of the economic system, wrested from the reluctant American capitalists by the American labor unions, as signs of the possibility of the eventual founding of an economic society that was *neither capitalist nor socialist*.

What Maritain saw in the United States at the time he wrote *Reflections on America* in 1958 was not the embodiment of a just, equal, and effective economic organization of society. He recognized in America the incipient stages of a society based on that grass-roots participation of workers in the ownership and management of economic institutions promoted by the papal social encyclicals. But such a society would be the work of generations, of more than a century: "This new social and economic regime is still in a state of full becoming. They are the very first steps in a process which will require at least a century for its full development."

IT WAS THE promise of America that he admired. That this promise in America, or anywhere else in the world, seemed further from realization in 1973 than it had in 1958 was very likely the reason that Maritain tried to put on paper just before he died a clearer expression of his conception of a "third way" beyond both capitalism and socialism.

In the "Society Without Money" which Maritain envisaged in 1973, tokens would replace money. All citizens would be supplied enough tokens to permit all to enjoy an affluence assuring them an existence consonant with their dignity — the material life of a family (lodging, dress, food, medical care, etc.) as well as intellectual life (free primary and secondary education, physical education included).

In order to receive the basic level of income, each qualifying individual would be required to work half time in the profession of his choice. To prevent certain individuals from escaping their share of work while still enjoying the common basic level of income, autonomous groups to which the individuals would belong, like trade or professional unions, would determine a certain degree of diminution (humane, but serious) of the gratuities received (for example, by subtracting from the monthly quantity of tokens a certain portion of the allocations for convenience, for luxuries, or for the annual month-long vacation).

The price in tokens of absolutely every purchasable commodity would be fixed periodically by an agreement among unions, based on two factors: the ready availability or scarcity of the thing in question, and the number of hours needed to procure or produce it. At the same time that money would disappear in this new society, so would all taxes paid to the state.

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In order that the state be able to carry on necessary trade with other countries still under the regime of money, there would be a special national fund into which would go the money accumulated from the sale of absolutely all products destined for exportation. This money would serve to import those products which would have to be paid for in money to the countries from which they came. The fact that the volume of exports would have to be greater than the volume of imports would stimulate the productivity of the money-less country and would increase its cash reserves.

Trips abroad on the part of the citizens would be financed from this fund according to the nature of the trip. Transportation for trips within the country would be free and at the expense of the state, just like buses and subways.

Maritain gives the name "basic requirements" to the half-time manual or intellectual work, controlled by the unions and required of everyone in order to assure the basic needs of each individual and family. He gives the name "life-enhancement activities" (*expansions de surcroît*) to whatever activities people would undertake during the other half of the day, without any control being exercised over them by the unions. Since the state can produce in indefinite quantities all the tokens it wants, it is the state which will furnish, as an outright gift and on request, the tokens needed for these "life-enhancement activities." The quantity of tokens to be received — and very generously, says Maritain — by those citizens whose occupations during the time of the life-enhancement activities would not be such as to turn a profit, would be fixed by those societies and academies to which they belong. And the state would take no other precaution than to prevent fraud. Maritain felt that even washing millions of tokens down the drain would be preferable to running the risk of introducing into the administrative structure of the country a germ, however tiny it may be, of state totalitarianism.

To professional economists, Maritain's "Society without Money" may sound like fantasy. They could easily claim that substituting tokens for money does nothing more than create another form of money, and that making unlimited amounts of tokens available to anyone who wants them is as inflationary as printing more and more paper money, unless by some miracle the supply of goods and services increases proportionally. And this may very well be so. But Maritain never intended to lay out the practical workings of a "Society Without Money." What he wanted to do was enunciate certain fundamental principles for such a just and humane organization of society. The fundamental principle he proposes so far in the text is that it is the function of society to provide each of its members with a basic level of income consonant with the economic rights and the human dignity of each individual in exchange for a reasonable amount of work, and that the source of value is the work of the person, not the capital he or she possesses. The real issue with Maritain is profit-making and who has a right to what profits.

In the remainder of his text Maritain proposes two more fundamental principles. The first of these he proposes, no doubt, to dispel what some may consider an atmosphere of naive utopianism. Here Maritain speaks of the individual's obligation to make every effort to reform and to improve — and this for all the peoples of the world — the conditions of existence that are still so miserable, and the social structures that are still so unjust and cruel, all of which form that milieu where human life must run its course in this world. But this milieu, he insists, is something exterior to the human person, who, even in the best of all possible worlds, would still exist in all grandeur and misery — who would not, at base, be changed one iota. The world and its history move forward at one and the same time in both good and evil.

> My dreams of a radical revolution in no way have as their final end to 'change man'; they do have as their final end alone (and this is ambitious enough) to change totally those social structures in the midst of which more or less civilized man has lived up to the present. In a society completely separated from the sovereignty of money, and finally adapted to the human dignity of all, man would keep that dignity he received from his Creator, [but] he would likewise retain all those weaknesses and miseries, often so atrocious, and those vices and that festering of moral evil to which his nature is exposed, compounded as it is of flesh and spirit.

Maritain then recalls and develops another principle he had enunciated so often in his previous writings: the immorality of interest. After devoting several pages to the history of usury and reviewing the teaching of the church, observed or watered-down, Maritain emphasizes that the only source of legitimate profit is human labor. It cannot be interest on capital.

> Whether in the stone age, or in the age of technocracy . . . it has always been human work, and it alone, which has been productive and fruitful. To think, once its fruit has been borne, that an additional sum, the fruit of the fecundity of money furnished by the investor, is due to the latter by right of interest paid on capital, is a fundamental illusion. *Money is not fecund.* So that the sum in question, fixed in advance at a certain rate, can be nothing other than a deduction imposed on what is due to some other man for his work. This is the particular and distinguishing characteristic of the capitalist system.

Maritain then returns to his oft repeated affirmation of the need to find a third way:

> From the point of view of the economic system, the Communist solution seems better than the capitalist solution. But from the point of view of *social* life, it is surely much worse, because of the state totalitarianism it implies and the losses of freedom it results in for the human person. . . . Communism, capitalism, neither system is good; and to resign oneself to accept the lesser of two evils is unworthy of the human spirit. Only one solution appears just and good, and that is a *society without money.*

Maritain concludes with an apology. He is very well aware of his incompetence in economic matters. He was not without a troubled conscience, he says, when he tried to present a few

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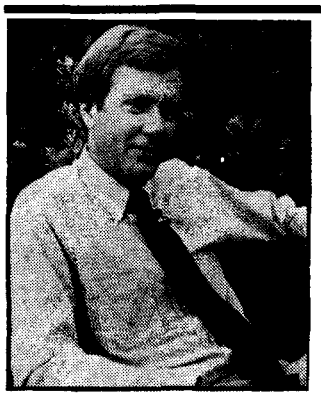
practical answers to the "enormous multitude of questions [that] arise, mingle together, and jostle one another day and night in one's head."

> So I present my excuses [he writes] for these poorly organized notes. And yet I believe that the ideas proposed here, if taken into consideration by well-trained economists with sufficiently open minds, and elaborated by them with more precision, would no longer appear, as they well may at first glance, to be nothing more than the pipe dreams of an old fool.

It should be clear that in Maritain's ideas on economic equality and economic rights there is an unbroken continuity. His last statement is a natural and logical development of his original insight. However naively utopian some aspects of his "Society Without Money" may seem; however much they may appear to be nothing more than the pipe dreams of an old fool, as Maritain himself put it; however tenuous, or even frivolous, his distinction between "tokens" and money; however Marxist his insistence that human labor is the sole source of value; however radically revolutionary his conception of just profits, one thing is certain: the whole thrust of his proposal is toward a just and equitable redistribution of wealth, which in his eyes can be achieved neither by Communism nor by totalitarian or democratic capitalism. And the efforts of certain latter-day Procrusteses to lop off Maritain's thought by limiting themselves to quotes from only one of his books or to stretch those quotes out of context and out of shape to make him fit into the iron bed of American democratic capitalism can be explained only by naiveté or deliberate misinterpretation.

Though the realization of anything approaching Maritain's ideal of a society consonant with economic equality and the economic rights of all is a very long way off, what "might arouse the hopes of people all over the world," he says, "is an idea of the final goal toward which such a process tends. For Maritain that "final goal" was "A Society Without Money."



A GOVERNOR LOOKS AT RELIGION & POLITICS

An interview with Bruce Babbitt

KAREN SUE SMITH

BRUCE BABBITT, at 46, is the Democratic governor of Arizona, a state that votes overwhelmingly Republican. A former attorney general, Babbitt became governor in 1978 upon the death of Governor Wesley Bolin. Popularly elected to the governorship in 1982 by a wide margin, Babbitt is expected by many observers to seek Barry Goldwater's Senate seat in 1986.

As the governor of a rapidly growing Western state and as a Democrat who has been politically successful in normally GOP territory, Babbitt has been given increasing attention on the national scene — one of the "next generation of Democratic superstars," a "new breed Democrat," and a "neoliberal," to cite the media-conferred labels he shares with Gary Hart, Bill Bradley, Richard Gephardt, Pat Schroeder, and James Hunt, among others. Babbitt has been the subject of features in *Business Week, New York,* and *USA Today*. He has himself written articles and opinion pieces for *The New Republic*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Miami Herald*. David Broder, columnist for the *Washington Post*, referred to Babbitt recently as an "exceptionally interesting and iconoclastic politician" of the type the Arizona climate somehow produces. Babbitt, who was recently a leader of an unsuccessful attempt by some Democratic governors to unite behind a "governors' candidate" for the post of Democratic national chairman, has publicly stated his aspirations to the presidency.

Babbitt is a Catholic, an alumnus of Notre Dame and Harvard Law School, as well as a husband and father. We met to discuss religion and politics last December 21 in the Governor's office in Phoenix.

HOW DO YOU assess the public discussion of church and state issues in the last presidential campaign ?

BABBITT: Superficial. It seemed to me to be focused, in the most narrow, political, and divisive way possible, on abortion as the one subject discussed. The real question is much broader: How do you have a society in which moral issues are widely and vigorously debated? Government inevitably presupposes a certain set of common assumptions about moral values which, in this society, is predominantly derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition — not exclusively, but predominantly.

When I was at Notre Dame studying under Joe Evans, Frank O'Malley, and others, there was a very lively debate about the distinction between natural law and revealed truth. Most of the philosophers of church and state expected that what was going to be advocated as the law of the land would be related to natural law. If you attempted to draw lines about certain general moral truths that were derivative of logic and reason,

KAREN SUE SMITH *is an assistant editor of* Commonweal.

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they would prove to be widely shared, and therefore suitable to be enacted into law on both the civic and religious sides.

There will be a continuing and never entirely resolved struggle about where those lines are. I think there has been an unfortunate tendency for a lot of different groups to forget that distinction between natural law and revealed truth and to say: Our complete agenda is to be enacted into laws governing the entire society. Many different religious groups claim that authority, not only Catholics. A lot of different Protestant groups as well are stepping forward to say: Here is our agenda, it is a moral agenda, *ergo* it must be enacted into law. I think that the distinction between natural law and more ultimate kinds of doctrine is being lost.

What do you consider to be the proper role for religious leaders to play in American politics ?

BABBITT: I believe religious leaders have the same right, indeed the same responsibility, as any other citizens to speak their personal views on all subjects that relate to the condition of society. And they certainly have the right and responsibility to speak very particularly to their respective congregations. I think it is important that religious leaders of all kinds consciously attempt to distinguish between issues of natural law on which there is consensus among Catholic, Protestant, and Jew and those issues on which there must be a greater degree of tolerance of other peoples' opinions and of the diversity that is characteristic of American society.

When you speak of natural law, what exactly do you mean ?

BABBITT: Natural law is essentially those moral precepts which can be deduced by the use of reason quite apart from external religious construction. Broadly speaking, it is my conclusion that a pretty good guide to most issues of natural law is to look at those areas where you find a consensus in the Judeo-Christian tradition. I think that is roughly, not unerringly, the outline of what I would call natural law.

What that means to me is that in those moral areas where the major Judeo-Christian religions tend to be in agreement, there is a presumption in favor of the need for legislative reflection of those values. There must be some moral values underlying any civilization; that's my guide.

On areas like abortion where there is major disagreement among the mainstream religious groups in the Judeo-Christian tradition, I believe that requires a lot more caution. The Jewish position on abortion is very different from the Roman Catholic position. The Lutherans, Presbyterians, many, many Protestant groups operating within the main ethical tradition of Western civilization also have different views. That is reason to be cautious about enacting laws rather than saying to the religious group: instruct your followers on these matters as matters of personal religious belief.

For these reasons I come to the same conclusion as Governor Cuomo — exactly the same. Now I didn't read the Notre Dame speech closely, and I don't know whether his reasoning follows mine or not, but that's where I come out. And I'm a product of a Notre Dame education; those professors taught me a lot about how you separate the city of God from the state.

I'm also a reverent follower of the tradition of Thomas Jefferson. My years of public life have simply confirmed the intensity of my belief that what I have learned from Joe Evans and Thomas Jefferson was correct.

On these questions each elected official must decide for himself or herself not what the church's teaching is. . . . I have no question that the Roman Catholic church teaches that abortion in virtually all circumstances is wrong. When Archbishop O'Connor says that is the church's teaching, I say correct. I have no doubt about that at all. I think the church's position at all times in modern history has been that it is unequivocally opposed to abortion.

But that's not the question for a Catholic who is a public official. I happen to subscribe to the church's position as a person. Still the question, as Governor Cuomo suggested, is: what is your obligation as a civic leader? I agree entirely with John F. Kennedy. I answer only to my conscience in my public life and that's that.

What role does Catholicism play in your own political life ?

BABBITT: It is the source of my moral values. I was nurtured in the church; I went to a Catholic school; I was an altar boy; I went to a Catholic university; I was steeped in the moral tradition of the Catholic church. My Catholicism plays a very strong role. But I thought President Kennedy answered rather well when he said that ultimately my conduct as a public official does not come *ex cathedra* from Rome; it comes from my conscience.

I've given speeches in which I quote Martin Luther — that wonderful phrase — I think of it a lot when I'm deciding public issues. He said: "Here I stand: I can do no other." It is basically an affirmation of my ultimate responsibility to obey my conscience in my acts as a public official.

In a recent draft pastoral letter, the American Catholic bishops resist the idea that unimpeded markets automatically produce justice and instead they call for a national consensus on economic rights. How do you respond to the notion that society has a moral obligation to protect citizens against hunger, homelessness, and unemployment, and that justice is measured by a society's treatment of the poor ?

BABBITT: I have read the draft. I am quite confident that the bishops, on those issues, are not speaking *ex cathedra* or with derivative authority of that kind. They are speaking as leaders and representatives of the social conscience of the Catholic church.

I believe that document in its current draft has great power in its reaffirmation of the Christian obligation to our fellowman. I thought the biblical exegesis at the start of the letter — its use of the Bible as a way of illuminating the Christian obligation to the commonweal — was wonderfully powerful.

In some areas I think the bishops' letter spills over into means rather than ends, and it loses power and persuasiveness as it gets specific. Saying that, I reaffirm the importance of the bishops' taking on this topic. But I think that a line is being

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crossed from the high moral ground to the mundane arena of legislative politics, and that the bishops are right on that line and occasionally over it.

But how do you feel about the idea of society's moral obligation ? Picking up from what you just said, do you consider that a means or a goal ?

BABBITT: I have no question about that at all. The moral obligation is a general statement that has been the position of the Catholic church for two thousand years. I believe that is a universally valid moral precept.

As a legislator, how would you evaluate the Reagan administration's proposed budget cuts for 1985 ?

BABBITT: I don't think you can apply the bishops' letter to the Reagan budget cuts and reach in each case a sort of litmus test judgment of whether they are morally just or unjust. It's much more complex. I have a lot of personal opinions, but I'm not prepared to say that I think the Reagan budget proposals related to revenue sharing are *morally* unjust.

I have been very outspoken in my opposition to cuts in what I would call the means-tested entitlement programs: Medicaid, food stamps, and all of that. I feel very, very strongly that those cuts as proposed are unjust, but I am not prepared to label Ronald Reagan a "sinner."

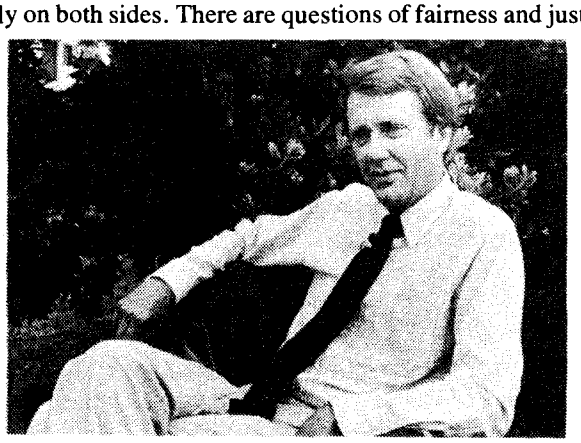
It seems to me that when you invoke the adjective "moral" you must be careful to distinguish what it is you mean by that.

Let's take the focus off the word moral and put it on the word obligation. Is there anything about those proposed cuts that strikes you as particularly favorable or unfavorable ?

BABBITT: I think the tax reform proposals are a superb beginning. The Reagan administration's tax proposal seen as a whole is a step forward.

The bishops use a phrase that has gone out of style that I think is very powerful. It's called distributive justice. I think the Reagan tax reform proposals are a step toward distributive justice. They redistribute the tax burden more equitably and more progressively among individuals and call upon business to carry a somewhat larger proportion of the total tax load. Both of these are steps toward equity and distributive justice.

Taxes are the flip side of expenditures. The same issues apply on both sides. There are questions of fairness and justice as much in the way you take money away as in the way you disburse it. On the expenditure side, I believe there is room for restraint in domestic spending. The unfairness of the Reagan proposals is in their propensity to take disproportionately from those who need it most. Any further capping or cuts in the means-tested programs would be tragic.



And they are all mentioned in those proposed cuts so far.

BABBITT: That's right. What I've talked about is the concept of a means test because that says: if we're to scale back benefits, we should scale them back by eliminating benefits for those who don't need them, and by trying to relate benefits more closely to need.

One area where we will see a major debate on that issue is Medicare. Social security is not going to be discussed much this time around. It is pretty much a given. Medicare is a $70 billion dollar program. It has no means test at all. The president is seeking to cap Medicaid, which benefits only the poor, and has said nothing about Medicare, which is a program which benefits everybody.

My position is: rather than once again taking from the poor by capping Medicaid, we should be using a means test to effect savings in Medicare through the use of expanded co-pays, deductibles, the tax system . . . by scaling down the benefits for those who don't really need them.

The creation of new jobs is the most urgent domestic priority according to the bishops' letter. Calling the current seven percent unemployment rate "morally unacceptable," they urge a three- or four-percent rate for "full employment." What is being done in Arizona to improve employment and wages, particularly for those on the margins of society: black youth, minorities, women, and men over forty-five ?

BABBITT: If the bishops are saying that it is divine revelation that seven percent is morally unacceptable and that that is a teaching which must as a matter of faith be accepted by all Catholics, I respectfully dissent.

They're not. It's in the "policy application" section of their draft. The term moral really bothers you doesn't it ?

BABBITT: The whole debate over abortion has really caused me to ask when we use the phrase "moral," are we talking about *ex cathedra*? Are we talking about bishops in their national conference? Are we just talking about another politician giving a talk?

But bishops don't speak* ex cathedra *in any case. Only the pope does.

BABBITT: I know, but bishops often say: this is an *ex cathedra*, or an authoritative, teaching of the church.

To return to your earlier question, I agree that one of the high priorities in American society is to wrestle with this issue of unemployment and to try to find ways to move toward a society in which anybody who wants a job has one available. I really believe that Pope Leo XIII was a far-sighted teacher when he issued *Rerum Novarum* and talked about the dignity

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of work — the way in which work gives meaning to our lives and to our effort and role in society. It is essential that we be a little more creative in inventing ways to expand work opportunities. We haven't been very good at it. The CETA programs, CCC, and the WPA are not the only ways you can do that, and there is a lot of opposition in effect to creating public jobs. If you don't want public jobs as the filler. . . .

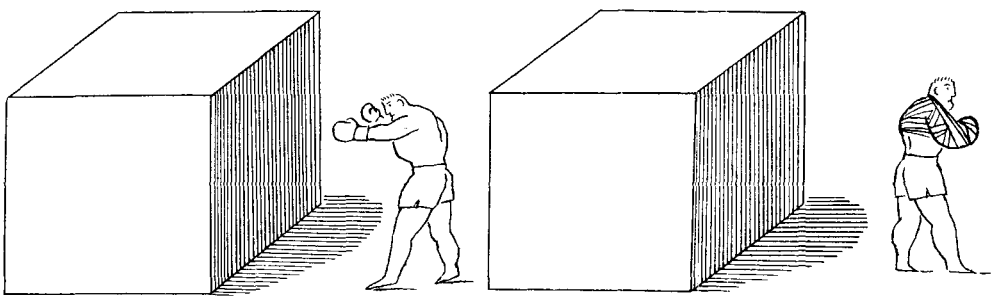
What do you do ?

BABBITT: For one thing, we need to deal with this issue of job training. We ought to have a national voucher system for job training which says that anybody who seriously is interested in work ought to have access, without any impediment, to job training free of charge that is appropriate to their situation. That's number one. It may be that we need to be more creative about various kinds of work-sharing in times of relatively high unemployment. This is something that has been worked with in European countries and I suspect that there may be some possibilities we could explore along those lines.

What would you say is the most urgent priority for national domestic policy ?

BABBITT: In my judgment there are three issues which all relate to each other: racism, education, and unemployment. They are all in some ways three faces of the same set of attitudes. One of the reasons there is unemployment is because we still have a substantial amount of racial discrimination in our society. One reason there is unemployment is because our education system is still very inequitable. We let people drop out and we forget them. We do not put enough emphasis on early childhood years. We neglect children in this society; as a *society* we're guilty of child neglect. If we could eliminate the vestiges of racism, if we could develop a more powerful agenda for child care, child development, and a more powerful education system, we could prevent a lot of the incapacities which in turn tend to generate structural unemployment.

THE RITES AND WRONGS OF PASSAGE



Ticket to delay

NORA L. MAGID

WHEN MY STUDENTS ask me how I spent my sabbatical, I can tell them that I devoted an unholy amount of it to getting a Canadian passport. To Americans who have simply to pop into a Polaroid booth, stand in line, and renew their old passports, this is like something out of *Alice in Wonderland*.

Canadians living "abroad" have to start over each time. They have to submit two completed forms, evidence of citizenship and of residence, and three photographs, one of which is certified by a guarantor. The guarantor is a character witness who presumably lives where the applicant does, must have known her or him personally for at least two years, and must be chosen from one of the following groups: mayor, practicing lawyer, notary public, judge, magistrate, police officer, signing officer of a bank, medical doctor, or dentist.

On my second trip to the consulate I sit for two hours. I tell the officials that I have difficulty with the list. They are surprised. How many people, I ask, know Mayor Goode or Mayor Koch? It also seems to me that a crook is more likely than I to know the cluster of judge-cop-lawyer.

NORA L. MAGID *is an editor, writer, journalist, and part-time teacher at the University of Pennsylvania.*

You must, they say, have a bank account. Of course I have a bank account, I say, but I have never laid eyes on anyone except a teller. Besides, I usually bank by mail, and my bank accounts (plural) are in New York. You bank in New York? We are standing in the consulate in Philadelphia and my habits are obviously alarmingly irregular.

Everyone, I am told, has a doctor or a dentist. Through teeth that I am grinding I explain that my last dentist, also in New York, has closed his office and disappeared. The only doctor I know in Philly has just moved to Tampa. Besides — only I don't say this out loud — we are talking citizenship, not teeth, not sprained ankles.

There has, I say, to be a procedure for people like me. Oh yes, they say, hauling out yards more of ominous forms, but we don't usually accept them from people like you. These are for new people. You have lived in this area for a number of years. You *must* know people.

Of course I know people. I know approximately one thousand university students and one hundred English professors. I know people in my own field — writers and editors. I even know architects and engineers and people who teach social work and pharmacy and history and French and small children. I know business executives and poets. I know my neighbors — a factory worker, an administrator, a musician, a nurse, several Irish widows, and a large number of Hmong

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refugees. The Hmong are automatically disqualified — they have no written language — but all of the others can read and write. Irish widow begins to strike me as a more valid category than mayor. I have never known a mayor, but in my past life (in New York where my suspect banking is done) I have known — and I use the word loosely — one senator who went on to become president of the United States, a second senator who did not, two Nobel Prize winners, and a surprising number of people in the CIA.

None of these people can speak for me. Nor can the policeman with whose family I have Thanksgiving dinner each year. They live in New Jersey. A tri-state life disenfranchises me. I begin to feel like two cents. I fill in recommendation forms for students all the time, and these include evaluations for sensitive security posts. Why then can't my colleagues, many of whom are fearfully distinguished as well as moral, speak for me? No, I am told, we have to narrow it somewhere. I am given one last chance. My minister, my priest. I don't have a minister; I don't have a priest. Come to think of it, I don't have a rabbi either. But that possibility has gone unraised.

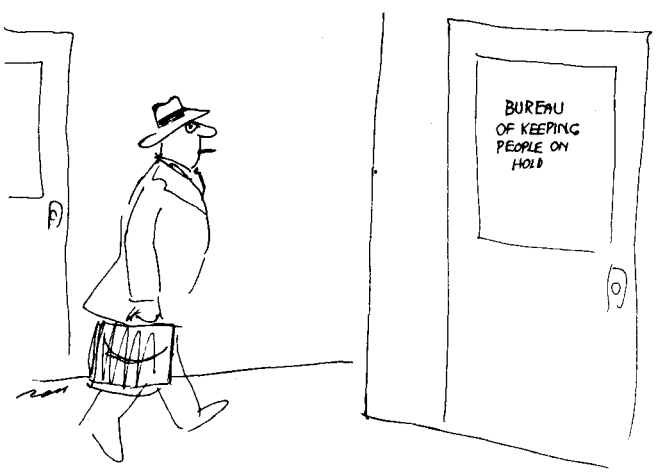
I leave in disgrace.

The Philly photographer I approach about the pictures turns me down. Yes, he knows Canadian procedure, but it is too complicated, and he has no time. When he does have time, he takes weeks.

I go to New York and I wail at the consulate there. I am handed three cards, am assured that I have read the form correctly and can be photographed out of state. I go to the nearest photographer who knows all about size and shape and stamping and dating, and who for twelve bucks provides four unspeakably ugly pictures. All of this takes an hour.

When I return to Philly, I force myself to fill in the forms. My resistance is abysmal. I convert my height and weight to metric and realize that lacking a sense of metric, I do not know if what I have arrived at suggests me or a mouse or a dinosaur.

I record with a sigh the date of my birth in Montreal and the date issuance of the certificate. There is a five-year discrepancy. My European-born father thought that births were automatically registered. It was not until I went to kindergarten that the certificate was issued. Further, the birth certificate, a gorgeous object festooned with stamps and ribbons and calligraphy is (a) in tatters, though the shreds add up to a whole, and (b) not a record of baptism. On previous occasions I have been told that born in the Province of Quebec translates to the need for evidence of baptism.



I also sigh over next of kin. This is my private woe and not the fault of the government. I am the sole survivor of my family. I select someone in Ontario. Her uncle was married to my aunt, and, both only children, we have declared ourselves cousins.

I have my green card photocopied, front and back, but I do not realize until later that it needs to be notarized. I then skim the "in lieu of guarantor" forms and decide that I'd rather die than fill them in. The Canadian references required here would knock my parents' socks off, but I seem to have to recreate their lives. I once inadvertently committed perjury because I'd always thought my mother had been born in Warsaw. It was only years later I discovered that she had been born in Bolshoi Takmak, which I don't know how to spell. I don't know the transliteration of my father's birthplace either, and I never want to have to explain again that I ride a bicycle, don't know how to drive, and hence cannot produce a driver's license.

So I scream a lot at everyone I know — the professors, the administrators, the music teacher, one of the Irish widows, the journalists. I am offered someone's brother-in-law, a physician, who'll sign anything for her as a favor. I'm offered someone's political crony who does political favors, but I don't want anyone to commit perjury for me, and I say no thank you. Besides, the forms carry a murky warning which seems to suggest that both applicant and guarantor can go to jail for two years if lies are told. Eventually my best friend reminds me that I do know a lawyer. I hate to ask him. He is a busy man. I don't know him that well, and I am reluctant to put someone in a position where he can hardly say no.

We set up an appointment. I come early and ask if there is a notary on the premises. There is. She can't figure out either from the information sheet or from the four instruction panels what to do with the green card photocopies, but she stamps and signs them, and she refuses to charge for what she considers an oddity. The guarantor plows through the forms: he is amused at the statement that 70 percent of passport applications are rejected because they have been incorrectly filled in; he notes that he is calling himself a practicing lawyer (as opposed to disbarred? retired?); and he asks how long he has known me. "I was at your wedding," I say. Lovely tea sandwiches in a beautiful garden. "Flag Day, '69," he says, and puts down fifteen years. Neither of us understands what he is to do with the unspeakably ugly photographs, but we agree that his signing them should constitute certification.

Back to the consulate for the third time. We haven't done the proper thing with the pictures, but they let it go. He is supposed to have written a sentence on the back, and then added his signature. The two crises I have anticipated do not come about. They accept my tattered birth certificate and suggest politely that I might want to send away for a new one. And they don't say how come last week you didn't know a lawyer and now you do.

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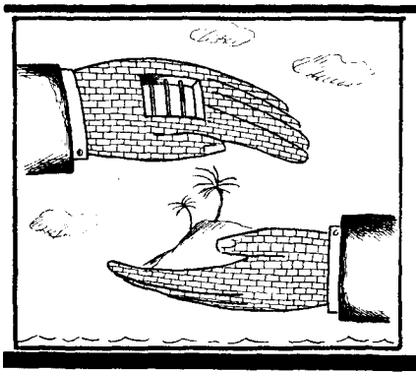

CUBAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Breaking the silence

BARBARA E. JOE

DESPITE GEOGRAPHIC proximity, Americans have been estranged from Cuba for the past quarter century, almost since Castro first took power. Cut off from life inside the island fortress, few realize the existence of thousands of political prisoners, some continuously incarcerated since the early days of the regime. The question of their status was recently raised again in connection with the negotiations between the U.S. and Cuba about the return of some of the 1980 Cuban refugees, but the Cuban government, so far, has not been forthcoming. Nonetheless, a glimpse into the world of Cuban political prisoners was afforded Americans early last summer when twenty-six of them arrived at Washington D.C.'s Dulles Airport accompanying Jesse Jackson. They looked dazed and confused under the klieg lights as reporters thrust microphones into their faces and fired questions at them in an unfamiliar language. They had had no forewarning of their release from years of incarceration, years that only the previous day had stretched before them with no end in sight — as remains the case for so many of their fellow political prisoners even today.

Called *"plantados"* (meaning steadfast or rooted) because of their stubborn refusal to reconcile with the regime, these men had spent years in solitary confinement, incommunicado, often in twenty-four-hour darkness, clad only in underwear, subject to torture and beatings. With a final twist of raw state power, they were denied release when their sentences were up. In the pre-dawn hours after Jackson's airport press conference, they looked haggard and sallow, with their shaven heads and ill-fitting polyester shirts. Yet, all managed smiles.

Our little welcoming band of Amnesty International members had kept a long vigil for seventeen prisoners whose cases had been taken up by our local group and affiliates around the world. Not surprisingly, "our" prisoners had been unaware of our appeals to their government and of the many undelivered letters we had sent them in prison over the years. As soon as their puzzlement at being embraced by strangers gave way to understanding, their tears of joy mingled with our own.

Shunning the press, three eventually poured out their experiences to us: Juan González, forty-four, truck driver; Basilio Guzmán, forty-seven, construction worker; — both with twenty-year sentences, but having served twenty-two — and Wilfredo Martínez, thirty-seven, foot soldier — fifteen-year sentence, served seventeen — charged, like the others, with conspiracy against the integrity of the state.

"In Cuba," González explained, "people are sent to prison merely for saying, 'When is all this going to change?' or 'My son has no shoes for school.' Every block has a captain who reports such things. I was young during the revolution and had great expectations. When they weren't realized, my friends and I began discussing some sort of organized opposition. Unfortunately, a neighbor going away on a trip asked me to keep his gun, a World War II memento. That was the basis of my arrest.

"At first, I wasn't allowed any sleep, food, or water. Under bright lights, a dozen guards talked to me all at once, some gently, others harshly. I was shown photos of executed prisoners and was threatened with the same fate. After six or seven hours, when I couldn't stay awake and would start falling, they would force me to stand. I answered their questions only when it would implicate no one.

"After three days, I was returned to my cell, given water and some yucca, but I didn't have the energy to chew it, so I hid it in a corner. Five minutes later, they took me out for another interrogation. When I was brought back at 2 A.M., I ate the yucca. The interrogations went on, every five minutes, every fifteen minutes, for three months."

Subsequently, González and some fifty others were transported in a tightly sealed vehicle where three companions lost consciousness. The doors finally opened to a crowd of four thousand men, women, and uniformed school children who began to strike the prisoners, throwing stones, and shouting: "assassins, viruses, criminals!"

Was there ever a trial? "Yes, finally," Martínez said, "but with no evidence, no witnesses, just charges brought by state security. Guilt and punishment are always decided in advance, sometimes on a mass basis. Sixteen of my companions were executed by firing squad — you could hear it in the early morning — including my friend Enrique Hernández, twenty-one-years-old. The rest of us were saved only to avoid an international outcry."

After trial, Guzmán was sent to break up rocks on the Isle of Pines, where the Spanish once imprisoned patriot José Martí. There, he said, guards ground prisoners' faces into the dirt

BARBARA E. JOE *is a writer, translator, and member of Amnesty International.*

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with their boots, forcing them to pull up grass with their teeth. One man's front teeth were broken against the ground when he became too exhausted to lift his head.

AFTER GUZMÁN's transfer to maximum security Boniato Prison in 1971, the cells were sealed with steel and concrete that blocked out light. "We had to calculate time by the guard opening the door for our meals — breakfast and supper. We kept track of the days by scratching on the wall.

"Friends perished from lack of food and medical care and one — Gerardo González — was shot through the neck by authorities, asking God's forgiveness for his killers before he died. My own head was broken with a tire iron; it required ten stitches. Weeks later, when I threatened to take the stitches out with the edge of a meat tin, a doctor finally did it. We all bear many scars."

Prisoners were subjected to experiments with loudspeakers and electroshock, being promised that accepting political re-education would win them early release. "Not so," said González, "Gómez Camelos, already in the re-education plan for twenty-two years, is eighty-two, with sugar in his blood and both feet amputated, but still not considered re-educated."

How did they keep their sanity? "Some committed suicide, but very few," said González. "Every month, we were given a razor to shave with, so we had the means, but we wouldn't give them that satisfaction. I spent nine years in solitary, nourishing myself with memories of friends, streets, restaurants, cars, anything to retain my humanity. On hidden scraps of paper, I wrote poetry and an illustrated children's book where animals talk. I never lost hope that the world would stand up to Castro, making him cease these barbarities. But, mentally, I was prepared to live out my life in prison."

Prisoners communicated in ways which cannot be revealed because of those who remain. Three months before his departure, González and twenty-two others were taken to punishment cells for celebrating a national holiday. "After breakfast, we all stood up in our separate cells and began singing the national anthem as we always do on that day. Likewise, on Sundays, we each celebrate our personal Mass right after supper. We can't see each other, but we know our brothers are doing the same thing because we've been doing it for twenty years."

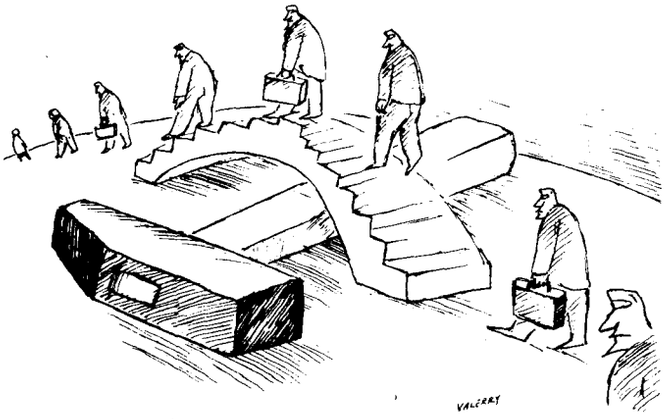
Of thousands of political prisoners still in Cuba, Martínez made a special plea for two: Santos Mirabel and Fernando Villalon. "Santos was arrested when he was only twelve, sentenced to age eighteen. He's now thirty and still in prison. Fernando was arrested at sixteen, also as a child, for writing on walls 'Down with Fidel Castro,' given three years — served four. Both were put into the caged truck transporting us out of the prison, then they were taken out again. At first, we had no idea where we were going. As we traveled down a dark, narrow, tree-lined road, we thought we'd be massacred. Only in the airport in Havana did we learn we were going to the United States. Then we realized our two companions had been left behind."

Before leaving, they were allowed to see their families. Guzmán: "I saw my daughters for the first time in five years. The younger one was just born when I was arrested, the other was three. Because of my long sentence, I divorced my wife and she remarried." González: "When my family came to say goodbye, I found out my father had died nine months before."

What are their impressions of the outside world? "When I'm out walking," says Martínez, "I'm afraid I'll bump into people. I still don't know how to turn off a TV. It's hard to explain. Hunger to you may mean a day you went without food, but you can't imagine what it's like to go forty days without eating, as we did. Similarly, you can't know what it's like to be without freedom. You have too much freedom here; life is too easy. Young people take drugs from boredom, because they lack a purpose. In prison, we survived because we knew our cause was just."

González says, "After so long, we're like someone who has been frozen and reawakened in another time. Everything is new for us. Bicycles today look totally different from those I remember. I grew old in prison, yet I still believe evil can be remedied, little by little. I no longer believe in revolutions that propose to change everything in one stroke."

"In Cuba," says Martínez, "this very conversation could cost us ten, twenty, thirty years in prison."



Gerald Sullivan

The Far End of the Track

Upraised pincers make me stop, even yell.
Inches bigger than a bug, bug-like face
glaring as antennae flicker pell mell,
this crayfish scrapes by, left by boys to trace
its way out of water till death senseless
and inchmeal comes round. Its lopsided shift
and scratch I took for the clawing progress
of a crabbed leaf budged by wind. Am I miffed
because my routine, my purposeful run
on this track, is by the absurd footing
of some beast displaced? Why try to outrun
what will only await me next rounding?
In position to save, all things matter.
I poke for a bag to make the transfer.

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Screen

ANOTHER '84
ORWELL THAT ENDS WELL

REMEMBER 1984? No, I mean, remember *1984*? Remember last January and February, when the year and book seemed so fused (or confused), and a media blitz reminded us ad nauseam of the "relevance" of Orwell's classic? Was it, I wondered, just the one book that journalists remembered from college, or a convenient (and conveniently intellectual) peg to hang some New Year's pieces on?

What if the author had suffered writer's block for some months in 1948, and finished his book one year late? That way, with his inversion of digits for ominous titling, Orwell would have spared us the anniversary for another *ten* years. Unfortunately we haven't had the last of Orwellmania yet. Rushed into production in mid-1984, and finished just at the break of this new year, is the ultimate homage, a new film version of the book that, unfortunately, will keep it in the public mind for at least several more months.

Not that the film is bad. Indeed, as an adaptation of a literary classic, it far outdistances recent similar releases, such as *The Bostonians, Swann in Love*, and even *A Passage to India*. I liked the film for what it was; my discomfort derives from hoopla about the book, and the intellectuality-on-the-cheap that it so easily encourages. To be fair, then, the film *1984* is excellent: it gives a new look, and an even worse feel, to an old (and for me, irritatingly overpraised) story.

Astonishingly, the speed of the film's production hasn't affected its quality: once bitten by the bug, English director Michael Radford committed massive resources and assembled a brilliant cast in an act of homage admirable for its controlled intensity. His *1984* is austere, harrowing filmmaking, updating the 1954 version (starring Edmond O'Brien as Winston Smith) with all the new, improved machinery to create terror that thirty years have brought to cinema. The production design counts the most for the effect of this *1984*, it was filmed in the East End of London — like other urban waterfront areas, seedily downtrodden and in reality suddenly newly fashionable. Its old docks, devastated train stations, and steel wires sticking out askew from fragmented walls provide the perfect look for a world dominated by permanent war. Every surface in *1984* is cheap and crude: a torture rack, for example, is made of two brute steel plates and a stretching joint in between, a weird hybrid from medieval dungeons and the worst reports of Amnesty International. Each physical device in the film — even the primitive computers and pneumatic tubes — suggest regression via mechanization. A bizarre contraption also graphically answers the question of whether new horror can be found in the infamous Room 101 — though here perhaps some viewers may feel the horror just goes on too long.

The shock value of the film is also due to three other sources: some liberties with Orwell's narrative, crisp editing, and crafty ensemble acting. Radford has inserted dream sequences into the tale, and in them hero Winston Smith hallucinates both extreme torture and powerful paradisal release. The story is told quickly in a rapidly paced series of vignettes, the style Radford employed so vividly in his 1983 gem about Scotland, *Another Time, Another Place*, and enthusiasts of that film will recognize the voice of Phyllis Logan, its fine star, as the public address announcer of Ingsoc.

Carrying the bulk of the tale are John Hurt, with his perennial haunted, wounded look, a perfect Smith; Cyril Cusack as Carrington, the seemingly kindly parole Pawnbroker who turns out to be a Big Brotherly agent; and Suzanne Hamilton, who, though less well known, almost steals the show as Julia, Winston's brief encounter, wavering between automatism one moment and capricious naughty joy the next. The most distinguished performance, however, belongs to Richard Burton, in his last film role, playing O'Brien, master of "newspeak," who birdlimes Smith with a copy of subversive material *he* wrote just for the purpose. Burton's performance — as in *Becket* — proves again how magnificently, when he didn't merely rave, the man could act. Though in ill-health during filming, Burton somehow manages to physicalize O'Brien's force by hulking his shoulders menacingly; he lowers the vibrato to silky imperturbability. His calm, almost neuter tone

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while operating the rack betrays not a flicker of sadistic pleasure — otherwise, contrary to Orwell's schema, O'Brien might seem to *feel* something. Such a performance brings us in touch with the mystery Burton took to the grave: what happened, and why?

1984 is powerful because it is an immense gothic fantasy applied with wit and originality to the postwar European world, particularly to its memory of Hitler and remaining legacy of Stalin. As such, the movie is worthwhile. But I hope it renews no new spate of connections between Orwell's imagined world and our own. The more I look at the world of 1984, the more I know it is not "just like" Orwell's vision (the standard phrasing of those searching for oneness and endowed with the sublime gift of metaphor). Recall how we were once, some time ago, told America was like Nazi Germany, or even more recently, like the USSR in its imperial follies? Orwell's *1984* encourages similar quarter-truths — applied haphazardly from any political position; like *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, it has become the all-purpose argumentative fallback of anyone forcing historical parallels.

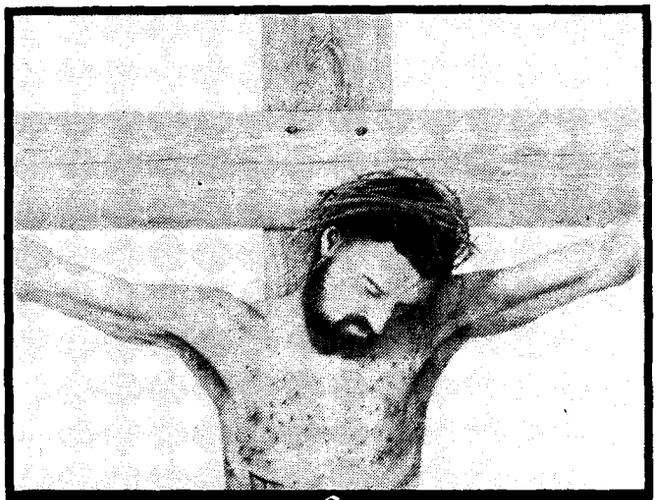
BUT DO ORWELL'S prophecies apply to 1985? Today's historical situation — though no grounds for optimism — has little to do with what Orwell imagined. Consider, for example, his "Eurasia," "Eastasia," and "Oceania" with no national differences to split such megaregions apart! The whole problem today, instead of futurists eliminating the past, results from the fact that the past won't die: national differences and identities seem as strong as ever, particularly in totalitarian societies. You can find out more about Russia in one incident at the end of Book V of *War and Peace*, indeed, in the first line of *Anna Karenina*, than in all of *1984*; and if you want America — which Orwell either leaves out or regards, with genuine English aplomb, as an adjunct of Oceania — try deTocqueville.

What of Orwell's other prophecies? For thirty-six years, there has been a continuous fear of war, to be sure, but not continuous world war, as Orwell prophesied: if there had been, we wouldn't be here to celebrate the book's anniversary. Orwell prophesied the danger of computers, we are told, but new studies indicate computers *expand* the private dissemination of information; with computers you can write, reprint, and circulate documents efficiently and quickly (cf. the Dec. 28, 1984 *New York Times* story on Russia). Orwell also prophesied thought control, a second cousin, we are told, to modern advertising. But if he meant advertising, why didn't he say advertising? Why, if the book is so prophetic, do the prophecies have to be so frequently adjusted? The truth is that parallels between Orwell's *1984* and the real one are just too diffuse and inexact. The one main valid parallel involves "newspeak," Orwell's forecast of the misuse of language for politically manipulative ends, a topic that he addressed more directly in "Politics and the English Language." But then, of course, one man's "newspeak" might be another's misguided truth, unless I am mistaken in my view that people, even politicians, are duped by their own newspeak, and simplistic moral accusations fall on deaf ears, *especially* among ideologues.

If there is any other direct reference to the real 1984 in the new film, it is unintentionally ironic. At one point, Julia rejoices when she enters the small, secret flat where Winston and she share their illicit love, reveling that she has brought "real coffee, white bread, and jam" to their hideaway despite Big Brother's declarations that such foods are "unhealthy." This hardly parallels modern government's promotion of consumerism and physical pleasure; if anything, the image of Big Brother scowling at such bags of goodies forecasts the health Utopians of the present and their constant warnings of vitamin deficiencies and cancer — all of which may be true. (On the other hand, would the health Utopians condemn sex?) The scene in the film is finely played. Suzanne Hamilton practically coos into the bread and sucks the jam out of the bottle; the hunger is convincingly real and earnest. Only the relevance is wacko.

The truth is, as I told friends as they celebrated 1984's passing on New Year's Eve, Orwell had it wrong: 1984 wasn't the bad year; it's 1985. We've been cosmic sucker-punched, and the fates will get us now that we're napping. Bad prophecies can lull us to sleep and deaden our alertness to the real dangers.

TOM O'BRIEN



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Religious Book Week: **CRITICS' CHOICES**

Giles Gunn

GILES GUNN, *is professor of English and religion at the University of Florida and author of* The Interpretation of Otherness: Literature, Religion, and the American Imagination.

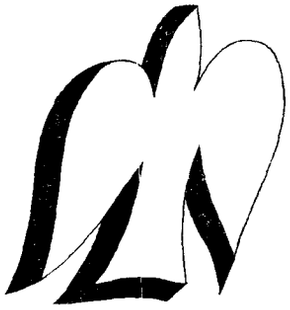
LOOKING BACK on the reading I have done this year, I am struck again, as I have been in the past, by the fact that very few of the books that have actually taught me anything new about religion have been written, as it were, from within religion. Perhaps it is only that my reading habits are more peripatetic than most, but I would prefer to believe that my own experience has been shared by other readers and is merely symptomatic of an age and culture in which religious understanding and interest are widely diffused and variously expressed.

One example of this is to be found in Alfred Kazin's *An American Procession* (Alfred A. Knopf, $18.95, 408 pp.) which is ostensibly a study of American writing during "the crucial century," as Kazin calls it, that begins with Emerson and concludes with Hemingway and Fitzgerald. But Kazin's book goes well beyond the confines of literary criticism to discern two interrelated issues central to American cultural and religious history. The first concerns the extent to which all American writing in the nineteenth century was a response to the death, or at least the disappearance, of God, and left a poet like Emily Dickinson in a position to sum up her entire era by addressing a word of gratitude to her departed "Father, for these strange minds that enamor us against thee." Equally central to Kazin's argument, and clearly as crucial to our understanding of modern American spiritual history, is the point he makes about what took the place of the *deus absconditus* in the American imagination: what Henry Adams described as the dynamo. In the void created by the withdrawal of the divine presence, moderns would place the machine which would eventually convert the idioms of their thought and feeling into idioms of power and force.

Erich Heller, the eminent historian of German literature and modern literature generally, describes this new world evoked by Adams in the title of his most recent book *In the Age of Prose* (Cambridge University Press, $39.50, 268 pp.), but he is fascinated with an element of it quite different from the one Kazin singles out. Heller is concerned about the fate of what he calls the poetic in an age dominated by the prosaic. By prosaic he means "not merely a manner of writing, but a style of comprehension." It is a style which constitutes perhaps the most serious threat yet mounted against that spontaneous and purified impulse of being we call poetry which, as the nineteenth-century German philosopher Schiller noted, gives an infinite extension to our capacity to reflect. "In the age of prose" the poetic is endangered not only by the forces unleashed by Henry Adams's dynamo but also by the new disciplines of the mind, like psychoanalysis, what follow in its wake and would reduce to the realm of fact and pathology what was once appreciated as belonging to the world of figure and fantasy. What makes Heller's depiction of this modern spiritual predicament so terribly moving is his almost uncanny, and certainly very rare, ability to make his reader feel the full attraction of what has been lost in this modern and secular exchange.

Little of Heller's feeling for what he defines as "the broken tradition" is evident in the third book I have found, in its way, remarkable, but the book itself tells us much about the pain of a modern poet who suffered its cleavage in his own person and work. The book in question is Peter Ackroyd's biography *T.S. Eliot* (Simon and Schuster, $24.95, 400 pp.), which is remarkable neither for the new information it reveals about Eliot's private life nor for the new light it sheds on his various writings, but rather for the way it shows how the emotional and, to some degree, intellectual disorder of the first was finally overcome by the orthodox spiritual orderings eventually achieved in the latter. While we will never know all that we may want to know about Eliot's interior life until his personal papers are released to the public sometime early in the next century, Ackroyd has, in the meantime, convincingly demonstrated how completely Eliot's critical tastes and poetic interests served as a spiritual compensation for, or defense against, the disorganization and confusion of his own personality and experience.

The fourth book I must mention, because I had occasion to return to it in 1984, could not be more different. Though originally published in 1961, Octavio Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (trans. by L. Kemp, Grove Press, $8.95. 212 pp.) is the study not of a single person but of a whole people whose personality and experience, despite immense variations, exhibit an astonishing degree of coherence and integration. Paz attributes the source of this persistence of order in the life of a people whose history has been extraordinarily disordered to the presence of indigenous myths which have survived the superimposition of cultural orderings from without. This continuity of identity has not only insured the religious character of the Mexican people but also lent to that character, even in its modern expressions, a bewildering and alien, even disconcerting, otherness. Yet



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Paz's achievement as a writer has been to convey the full force and distinctiveness of this "incurable otherness" of the Mexican people in a language that preserves its untranslatability in the process of rendering it wonderfully accessible. The result is a book in which the poetic triumphs over the prosaic by making the latter, somewhat astonishingly, once again almost wholly believable.

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza

ELISABETH SCHUSSLER FIORENZA *has taught at Notre Dame since 1970 and is presently Talbot Professor at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge. Her latest book,* Bread Not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation, *will be published this month by Beacon Press.*

WHEN I mention here only books in the field of liberation theology I do not want to suggest that these are the only important books, but only that they seem to me most significant for the paradigm shift in theology that is underway. Let me begin with biblical studies:

Gerd Theissen's work has had great impact on biblical studies in this country whereas that of Willy Schottroff and Wolfgang Stegemann is virtually unknown. We have to thank Orbis Press for making available their work in *The God of the Lowly: Socio-Historical Interpretations of the Bible,* (trans. by M.J. O'Connell, Orbis, $9.95, 176 pp.) a collection of essays on socio-historical interpretations and materialist readings of the Bible that appeared in German in 1979. Using this social-historical method Wolfgang Stegemann's, *The Gospel and the Poor* (trans. by D. Elliott, Fortress, $3.95, 80 pp.) elaborates that the Gospels reflect a world of hunger, poverty, and oppression. With a different method (literary criticism) and hermeneutical perspective (feminism) Phyllis Trible's *Texts of Terror: Literary Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Fortress, $7.95, 144 pp.) make present the patriarchal oppression of biblical women. The terror in the stories of Hagar, Tamar, the concubine, and the daughter of Jephta challenges us to rethink our understanding of the Bible as the Word of God.

Beverly Wildung Harrison's, *Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion* (Beacon, $18.95, $9.95 paper, 334 pp.) speaks of the same kind of women's patriarchal oppression in contemporary society when she analyzes the structural connections between the denial of women's right to procreative choice and enforced childbearing, child abuse, emotional deprivation, rape, and incest. In the present struggle around the access to legal abortion her book is the most significant scholarly contribution from the perspective of feminist Christian liberation theology. While Trible's book eschews theory in favor of story-telling, Harrison's presents a careful theoretical analysis. Both should be read together because of their powerful explorations of patriarchal violence.

The wider context and impact of women's patriarchal oppression is laid out in *Women's Spirit Bonding* (Pilgrim, $12.95, 389 pp.), a report from a conference held in July 1982 at Grailville which sought to bring together women from very different faith communities for a week of feminist theologizing. This collection, edited by Janet Kalven and Mary I. Buckley, highlights the richness as well as the very real difficulties of such a feminist theological dialogue that affirms diversity and seeks to overcome patriarchal divisions for the sake of our common struggle. In *Our Passion for Justice* (Pilgrim, $10.95, 264 pp.), Carter Heyward brings together lectures, poems, and sermons reflecting a white Christian feminist liberation theologian's struggle and work in the past seven years. Just as Heyward stresses the power of mutual relation and body-centeredness as the center of feminist theology, so Dorothee Soelle and Shirley Cloyes in *To Work and to Love: A Theology of Creation* (Fortress, $9.95, 160 pp.), stress God's desire for relatedness as the impulse for

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creation. Although they do not subtitle the book "a feminist theology of creation," it is obvious that Soelle's change of emphasis from Christ to God owes much to feminist theology.

Finally, the importance of James Cone's *For My People: Black Theology and the Black Church* (Orbis, $9.95, 288 pp.), and Leonardo Boff's *Church: Charism & Power* (trans. by J.W. Diercksmeier, Crossroad, $14.95, 192 pp.), for a re-creation of theology and church in a liberation theological perspective must be stressed. In reassessing the origin and development of black theology Cone stresses that black theology and black church must move beyond their antagonism. Moreover, both must confront the challenge of black women to theology and church. I hope that the Vatican controversy surrounding Boff's book will not prevent Catholics from reading it, but will make it required reading in all theological schools and continuing education programs. It presents an astute analysis of the pathologies of Roman Catholic institutional structures. At the same time it lives out of the hope that like Sarah who conceived in her old age the church once sterile will bring forth new life because of the promise of God.

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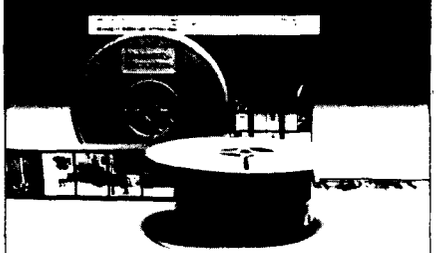

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Richard A. McCormick

FATHER RICHARD A. McCORMICK, S.J., *is Rose F. Kennedy professor of Christian ethics at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, Georgetown University.*

ONE of the most significant publications of the past year was the completion of James Gustafson's two-volume *Meisterstück, Ethics from a Theocentric Perspective*, V. I *Theology and Ethics* (Chicago University Press, $20, 345 pp.) and V. II *Ethics and Theology* (Chicago University Press, $25, 370 pp.). Gustafson writes (II, 90): "For theological ethics . . . the first task in order of importance is to establish convictions about God and God's relations to the world. To make a case for how some things really and ultimately are is the first task of theological ethics." This is what these two volumes are all about. Anyone acquainted with Gustafson's work will see repeated here breadth and subtlety, wisdom and insight, as well as honesty, openness, fairness, and a humbling erudition. To some, perhaps many, the overall impact of Gustafson's theocentric ethic will appear remote, gloomy, and hopeless, a departure from authentic Christianity. But Gustafson is a first-rate theologian who deserves careful, even if critical, study.

Two volumes of collected essays are noteworthy. The first is Josef Fuch's, S.J., *Christian Ethics in a Secular Arena* (Georgetown University Press, $9.95, 154 pp.). Several of the essays were originally public lectures delivered in the United States; others appeared in foreign journals. Particularly valuable in this latter category are two articles translated from *Stimmen der Zeit* ("Moral Truths — Truths of Salvation?" and "The Tension Between Bishops and Theologians" and one ("Intrinsic Evil") from the volume *Sittliche Normen*.

The second is Charles Curran's *Critical Concerns in Moral Theology* (University of Notre Dame Press, $16.95, 264 pp.). In this volume Curran brings together articles and papers on fundamental moral theology, sexual and biomedical ethics, social ethics and pastoral practice. Curran has been dining out on this type of thing for years. That is to say, his concerns are vital, his perspectives Catholic and catholic, his scholarship thoroughgoing.

In the area of bioethics several entries have caught my attention. One is the wonderful book by Yvonne Baskin, The *Gene Doctors: Medical Genetics at the Frontier* (William Morrow, $13.95, 289 pp.). Rarely do books live up fully to their jacket endorsements. This one does. As James Bonner, Professor Emeritus of Biology at Cal Tech, words it: "A reader who takes the trouble to read this book from cover to cover will bring him-or herself up to date with modern biomedical science." First-class popularization of a complicated subject — genetic engineering. There is much information here and, thankfully, not a great number of answers.

Then there is William F. May's *The Physician's Covenant* (Westminister Press, $10.50, 204 pp.). This is a highly original piece of writing that moves a step away from "dilemma ethics" to examine the moral power of images in understanding the healer and his/her tasks. May explores five images: parent, fighter, technician, teacher, covenanter. May's prose is elegant, his thought incisive. His concerns may never elbow Baby Fae or William Schroeder from our front pages. But more attention to them would make us wiser as we continue our fascination with the "gee-whiz" problems.

Preterition is in place where the present author's *Health and Medicine in the Catholic Tradition: Tradition in Transition* (Crossroad, $15.95, 173 pp.) is concerned. A modest hope: that the book will not add to the volume of crozier-thumping.

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Mary Lou Kownacki

MARY LOU KOWNACKI, *a Benedictine Sister from Erie, Pennsylvania, is national coordinator of Pax Christi, USA.*

"MYSTICISM, an all-embracing love of humanity, and peacemaking often go together." That quote by Dag Hammerskjöld guides my book selections. We are at the point where the peace and justice movement and the prayer movement must embrace. Like two haunted seekers of truth, both have been trying to cross the desert and scale the mountain alone. Both are nearing exhaustion; both can only be renewed and plunged into deeper truth by an intimate knowing of the other.

Enter William Johnston, S.J., a leading Catholic spiritual writer, best known for exploring the common ground between Christian and Buddhist mysticism. In *Christian Mysticism Today* (Harper & Row, $12.95, 198 pp.), Johnston concentrates on the unique experience of Christian mysticism. After examining the great mystical figures in the Christian tradition and the elements of Christian spirituality, Johnston concludes: Christian mysticism has social implications. Johnston claims that "a real mysticism for our time . . . demands a total commitment to peace and nonviolence."

His lists as characteristics of the mystical movement for our times the following: (1) total dedication to the poor; (2) radical nonviolence; (3) a change in lifestyle; (4) raising the consciousness of the poor by giving them a sense of human dignity.

Johnston's point about mysticism is simple, but profound: the kiss of God should so transform us that we respond with unconditional and unrestricted love for all creatures; it "effects a change of heart and a revolution in consciousness whereby we are totally and radically committed to peace."

Permit me to suggest three books that sketch mystics for our times.

The first, ironically, is a Dutch Jew, killed in Auchwitz. Her story is told in *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries Of Etty Hillesum, 1941-1943*, Translated by Arno Pomerans (Pantheon Books, $12.95, 226 pp.). Published thirty-eight years after her death, the diaries make us privy to the intimate and transforming relationship between God and the mystic. Only this dialogue occurred in circumstances where it was more reasonable to curse God, rather than explode in prayers of thanksgiving.

Hillesum, after all, chronicled a holocaust, a living hell so harrowing that we still refuse to own the full horror. Though we may not comprehend Hillesum's journey, we cannot dispute her testimony: as her love relationship with God intensified, so did her gratefulness for life, her compassion and concern for God's creatures. All God's creatures.

First, her fellow-Jews for whom she became Eucharist, comforting the doomed, refusing to abandon them. "I have broken my body like bread and shared it out. . ." she wrote.

More remarkable was her genuine love for the dreaded "enemy," the Nazi. My

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journal is filled with passages from this book that capture the true mystic, the suffering, nonviolent servant that Johnston wrote about.

The second modern mystic is found in *Merton By Those Who Knew Him Best*, edited by Paul Wilkes (Harper & Row, $12.95,163 pp.) These brief reflections by Merton's friends and acquaintances give us rare, warm, and very human glimpses into a monk who embodied the mystic as peacemaker. Two quotes make that clear.

In his essay, Jim Forest, General Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation writes: "Thomas Merton was the parish priest of the Catholic Peace Movement." And Flavian Burns, OCSO, the abbot of Gethsemani at the time of Merton's death, notes: ". . . I felt Merton was a true spiritual master . . . . I believe that people will read Thomas Merton's spiritual writings as long as they're reading John of the Cross's writings or *The Cloud Of Unknowing* or Augustine."

Finally, I would recommend *Midwives Of The Future: American Sisters Tell Their Story*, edited by Ann Patrick Ware (Leaven Press, $8.95, 237 pp.) In this book nineteen sisters, many of them leaders in the Catholic Church, give personal, very moving, and somewhat painful accounts of what occurred in religious life both before and after renewal. Also, what is occurring now.

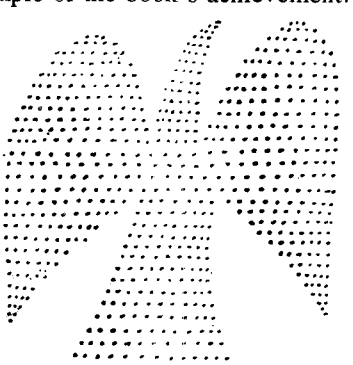
I'm not claiming that all of these sisters are mystics, although I know some are. You decide. Read their stories, reread the characteristics of the mystical movement that Johnston describes, and then compare.

Michael Wyschogrod

MICHAEL WYSCHOGROD *is professor of philosophy at Baruch College, CUNY, and director of the Institute for Jewish-Christian Relations of the American Jewish Congress. His most recent book is* The Body of Faith: Judaism as Corporeal Election.

THIS past year saw the publication of two books that can only be characterized as major developments and intensification of the post-World War II Jewish-Christian dialogue. For a while it seemed that the project of Jewish-Christian reconciliation had reached a plateau, partly because of growing Christian disillusionment with some policies of Israel and partly because of intensified Christian interest in third world, liberation, and feminist issues. While some such shift has undoubtedly occurred, Christianity's rediscovery of its Jewish roots is so central to its fundamental self-understanding that it is bound to remain on the theological front-burner.

This emerges clearly from Paul M. van Buren's *A Christian Theology of the People Israel* (Winston-Seabury, $26.95, 362 pp). I read the book as a Christian attempt to understand Judaism in its own terms. Now this may not sound like a particularly difficult thing to do. The first principle of all historical scholarship is to let the material speak to the scholar so that the scholar does not impose his preconceptions on it. But this is certainly not easy for Christians dealing with Judaism. Judaism, as traditionally interpreted by Christians, played a key role in the traditional self-definition of Christianity. To break with that picture of Judaism, not with respect to peripheral issues but with the very essence of the picture, is exactly what van Buren does. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in his discussion of *Torah*. Instead of *nomos*, law, legalism, the letter that killeth, and other such conceptions, van Buren captures the love of the Jewish people for *Torah* as God's gracious gift received in joy. And this is just one example of the book's achievement.



The other book that deeply impressed me was Franz Mussner's *Tractate On the Jews* (Fortress, $29.95, 339 pp.). This is an English translation of a work that originally appeared in German in 1979. Simply put, this book, together with the earlier book by Clemens Thoma, *A Christian Theology of Judaism* (Paulist Press, $7.95, 211 pp.) represent the most advanced Catholic thinking about Judaism to date. Mussner is a well-known German New Testament scholar who came to the problem of Judaism rather late in life. The book that he has produced is a profound reading of the New Testament which, without overlooking problematic passages, understands the deep Jewish dimension of the work. The Jesus who emerges from Mussner's pen is a Jewish Jesus, not just in a technical but a profoundly religious sense. No one who takes Mussner's book seriously will ever again be able to speak about Christianity without stressing the Jewish background and the continuing deep Jewishness of early Christianity.

Taken together, these two books added up to a good year for Jewish-Christian relations.

Renée Webber

RENEE WEBER, *a professor of philosophy at Rutgers University, has published widely on* Dialogues with Scientists and Sages (Routledge and Kegan Paul).

AMONG holistically oriented books published in 1984, I especially liked *Looking Glass Universe* (John Briggs and David Peat, Simon and Schuster, $8.95, 280 pp.) for its clarity and imaginative presentation of some influential recent thinkers: quantum physicist David Bohm, whose implicate-order philosophy has attracted worldwide attention for its attempt to marry the new physics with spirituality, Prigogine's dissipative structures, Jantsch's physical and spiritual evolution, Pribram's holographic theory of brain/mind; and Rupert Sheldrake's hypothesis of morphogenetic fields as realities in nature that, if proven true, would revolutionize biology, psychology, and society. This non-

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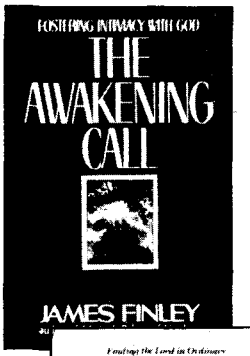
technical book abounds with charming illustrations.

Extremely exciting is *Quantum Questions: The Mystical Writings of the World's Great Physicists (ed. Ken Wilber, Shambala, $8.95, 208 pp.)*. Such giants of twentieth century physics as Planck, Schrödinger, Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg and others reveal their philosophical-religious reveries, intuitive glimpses of an underlying wholeness in the universe. Some border on mystical affirmations of unity. Wilber's brilliant introduction is certain to generate heated controversy, and forces one to rethink the validity for mapping mysticism onto physics.

A new work pondering the meaning of evolution is ecophilosopher Henryk Skolimowski's *The Theatre of the Mind: Evolution in the Sensitive Cosmos* (Theosophical Publishing House, $6.75, 164 pp.). A scientist with a Ph.D. in philosophy from Oxford, Skolimowski pays homage to Teilhard de Chardin, Aurobindo, and Soleri in his philosophic and often poetic musings on the message of evolution. He equates evolution with God. The most stirring chapter is on "Responsibility," a perceptive and original piece. "To be human is to live in a state of responsibility." The degree of responsibility we feel for our own lives, for the lives of others "for everything there is" is a measure of the person. The saint feels it maximally, the immoralist minimally. "Man signifies limited responsibility . . . God signals infinite responsibility . . . God is the one for whom nothing is done. God does everything."

Finally, a most unusual work, 1984 brought *The Many Facets of Touch* (ed. C.C. Brown, Johnson and Johnson, Box 836, Somerville, N.J. 08876, $7, 189 pp.). It is the only book I know of which brings together the orthodox medical and research establishment with nurses active in healing, notably therapeutic touch. The result of a five-day interdisciplinary conference, this volume is a comprehensive treatment documenting the importance of touch in human development from infancy to the old and dying, for whom compassionate touch is deemed crucial. It renews one's hope for the humanization of medicine.

SPRING 1985 HIGHLIGHTS



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James Finley
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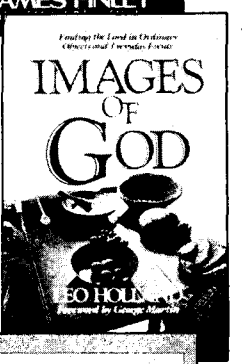

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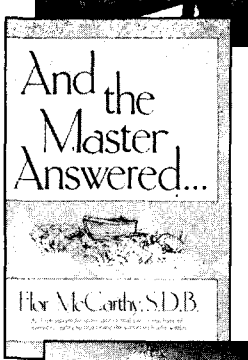

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Flor McCarthy, S.D.B.
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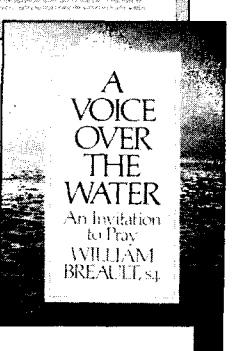

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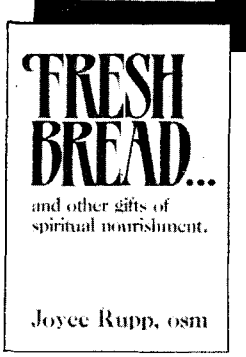

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Mark Searle

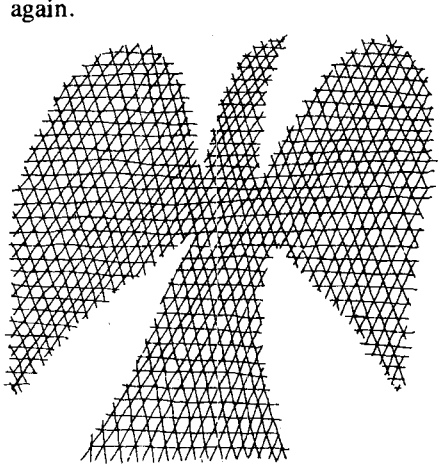
MARK SEARLE *teaches liturgy at the University of Notre Dame. He is past president of the North American Academy of Liturgy.*

NOT the least significant question concerning the axiom *lex orandi, lex credendi* is that of how the liturgical order of the church might be understood to constitute a *lex*. This is not merely to ask how liturgy might be used as a theological source, but how the liturgy is canonical, how it provides a normative structure for the faith-life of the community as a whole and of the members who belong to it. What, amid the historical and cultural varieties of Christian liturgy, is actually normative, and what contingent? The three books mentioned here are each chosen for the way they bear upon these questions.

Hymn of Entry. Liturgy and Life in the Orthodox Church, (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, $5.90, 138 pp.), is the work of Archimandrite Vasileios, abbot of the restored monastery of Stavronikita on Mt. Athos. Though addressed to ecumenical dialogue it is an uncompromising book. Indeed, what Vasileios says of Orthodoxy is true of his book: "It does not assert a proposition; it bears witness. It is not contradiction, but confession." It is, in fact, a finely elaborated testimony to the seamless garment of Orthodox liturgy, theology, and church organization, a celebration of the efficacy of the *lex orandi:* "The liturgy at the altar brings about, regulates, and constitutes all things in every one. The great liturgy of Christ's sacrifice celebrated on the altar forms the heart of our lives and our consciousness of what we are. It gives warmth and shape to our lives. It takes hold of each one of us personally, and of the liturgical community that we constitute. . . ."

Robert Taft, S.J., takes up the same theme and argues it with specific reference to the Divine Office in *The Liturgy of the Hours in the Christian East: Origins, Meaning, Place in the Life of the Church*, (Cochin, Kerala/India/: KCM Press, $7.50, 314 pp. A second edition, expanded to include the offices of the West, will be published in the U.S.A. this year.) Taft judiciously reviews current scholarship on the origins and development of the Office and then offers the first comprehensive survey in English of the morning and evening services of the churches of the East. Still, Taft's focus is on the *lex orandi*. So, for example, after remarking upon the social and political vicissitudes of the Christian East, he concludes: "as long as the mysteries can be celebrated, the Church lives, held together not by organization, nor authority, nor education, but by communion year after year in the regular cycle of the offices of the Church. Isn't that what liturgy is all about?"

In the West, however, the liturgy has suffered its own vicissitudes: centuries of neglect, the critical upheaval of conciliar reforms, and now the benighted quest for "meaningfulness" to which the rites are regularly subjected. The authority of the church's liturgy has to be discovered anew on the basis of a whole new mystagogy geared to second, rather than first, naiveté. In his *Unsearchable Riches: The Symbolic Nature of the Liturgy* (Pueblo, 1984, $9.95, 240 pp.), David Power, O.M.I., begins to do just that. His is a theology of liturgy constructed in the face of a double crisis: a crisis of vision affecting the "world" projected by the church's liturgy and a related crisis of hope afflicting humanity suspended between two holocausts. Vasileios and Taft show us what has been and may yet be; but Power shows how much hard work must be undertaken before we can learn to trust the *lex orandi* once again.



Cynthia C. Wedel

CYNTHIA C. WEDEL, *Deputy National Volunteer Consultant for Blood Services of the American Red Cross, was the first woman elected president of the World Council of Churches and one of the three American Protestant women invited to attend the fourth session of Vatican II by the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity.*

TO a great many of us, the Ecumenical Movement is truly "the great new fact of our time." In a period during which inter-national tensions polarize and heighten, there is a sign of hope in the fact that the Christians of the world — increasingly divided and fragmented for almost five hundred years — are ever more seriously pursuing mutual understanding and reunion. This has led to an increasing number of books about various aspects of ecumenism which could rightfully claim the attention of both clergy and laity.

The first of these which I would like to mention is *The Lord of Life* (World Council of Churches Friendship Press, $8.95, 184 pp.), theological explorations of the theme of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches held at Vancouver, B.C. in July, 1983. Edited by William H. Lazareth, these are substantial essays by noted Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Jewish, as well as many Protestant theologians, each contributing to a deeper understanding of the theme. A fact worth noting is that three women are included among the contributors. For the many who know the World Council of Churches only through its statements and actions in the political arenas, this book provides a much needed corrective.

The second book is *The Feast of Life* (World Council of Churches Friendship Press, $3.95, 77 pp.) by Canon John Poulton of Norwich Cathedral in England. As a former missionary teacher in Africa, Poulton has a global understanding of both physical and spiritual hunger. He says, in his final paragraph, "the whole unity discussion needs a more urgent *passion* in the face of a world in

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disarray and looking for a word of hope to its condition. Only through pain and the death of repentance, felt and acted upon, can life be discovered and shared with the world.''

The third volume is *Jesus Christ - The Life of the World* — an Orthodox contribution to the Vancouver theme, edited by Ion Bria (World Council of Churches Friendship Press, $6.95, 160 pp.). It contains fifteen essays, each by a different scholar, and makes clear both the surface differences among various branches of the Orthodox churches, and at the same time, the shared sense of history, liturgy, and tradition which mark the Orthodox contribution to world Christendom. For Protestants (and Roman Catholics) this is a very much needed contribution to their understanding of the Orhodox who make up a very large portion of the Christian community.

The fourth book is of a different nature but — in my opinion — extremely important. It is entitled *What in the World is the World Council of Churches?*, and is the carefully edited transcript of an interview with Philip Potter, conducted by Ans J. van der Bent, the librarian and archivist of the Ecumenical Center in Geneva. (World Council of Churches, $3.95 90 pp.). It gives a succinct yet detailed history of the modern ecumenical movement, beginning with the great World Missionary Conference of 1910, the series of subsequent conferences on Christian Education, Life and Work, Faith and Order. Many who criticize the World Council of Churches know very little of its origins, its present organization, or its world-wide mission. This small book fills in these gaps.

Albert J. Raboteau

ALBERT J. RABOTEAU *teaches courses in American religious history at Princeton. He is the author of* Slave Religion *(Oxford).*

AMERICAN religious history used to be called American church history and most specialists in the field restricted their subject matter to the history of denominations, clergy, and

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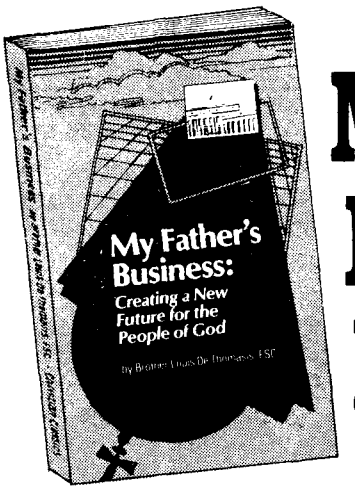
—Father Andrew Greeley



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theology (usually Christian.) No more. Increasingly, over the last decade historians have enlarged the scope of their craft to include the religious life and culture of groups whom the old historiography ignored: minorities, non-Christians, women, the people in the pew. Martin E. Marty's new book, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, (Little, Brown, $25, 500 pp.), integrates the best of the old and the new in a masterful survey of 500 years of religion in America. Significantly, he begins his narrative, not with the Protestants of Europe, but with the "first migrants" to these shores, the Native Americans. Don't be put off by the book's length. It is by no means meant only for the scholar. Marty writes in an engaging, anecdotal, sometimes chatty style which moves the reader rapidly through an interesting series of episodes, crowded with fascinating characters and intriguing events. The book would make a fine companion to a television series in the style of Kenneth Clark's *Civilization* or Bronowski's *Ascent of Man*.

Certainly, the expansion of the field of American church history to include previously forgotten minorities was due in part to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Historians were reminded, frequently by their students, that the history of the black past was essential to understanding the American past. Aldon D. Morris has written a valuable new book on *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (The Free Press, $19.95, 354 pp.) which focuses on local black communities and local leadership as the originators and builders of the movement. Morris's stress on the role of local, usually unsung, activists and ordinary people is a healthy corrective to our tendency to look for national leaders of reform and to lament their absence as a sign of failure and an excuse for inaction.

Race relations and the inability of religion to bridge the distance between races has been one of the constitutive facts of American religious history. Joel Williamson's *The Crucible of Race* (Oxford University Press, $25, 561 pp.) offers a nuanced examination of black-white relations in the South since the period of Emancipation. While his approach is historical, Williamson brings insights from philosophy, literature, and psychology to help explicate the complexity of racism and its ongoing effects upon our society.

A forthcoming book to be published by Yale University Press is well worth watching for: Robert Orsi's *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* is a major contribution to immigrant history and to the growing literature on popular piety. Instead of simply opposing the "popular" piety of Italian immigrants to the "official" piety of the chancery, Orsi carefully describes the subtle tensions and interrelationships between the piety of the people and the piety of their priests in the context of an important ethnic shrine in New York City.

Stephen Crites

STEPHEN CRITES *occupies a charmingly antique chair as Hedding Professor of Moral Science at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, where he teaches courses in the philosophy of religion and related subjects.*

THE BIG news in the philosophy of religion is that a remarkable number of books have appeared just in the past couple of years devoted to the existence and nature of God. You may not find this intelligence terribly startling. I admit it is not sensational, but then this field tends in general to be one of the quieter fountains in the academic waterworks, not given to loud splashing. Besides, what else shall philosophers of religion write about?

The answer to that question is that philosophers of religion, and even theologians, have been writing about everything under the sun *except* God for the past twenty years or so. Even earlier, in the Tillichian heyday of the 1950s, Paul Weiss of the Yale philosophy department used to twit theological students who ventured into his courses with the complaint that the one thing so-called *theologians* would *not* talk about was God. Weiss, who enjoyed a popular reputation as Yale's campus atheist, because he liked to puncture pious pomposities, proceeded to startle the campus if not the world, by advancing ninety-six new arguments for the existence of God in his major systematic work, *Modes of Being* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1958). But he was a voice in the wilderness. During the sixties and seventies, at least in fashionable circles, the whole subject was dismissed with slogans about the death of God. So the recent little spate of books on the subject is worth noting, though it is too early to say whether it represents a trend or just a bubble.

Here are three examples, all published in 1984, written in refreshingly lively style, and accessible to the general reader. A reader who would like to be initiated into the philosophical discussion of God should read Leszek Kolakowski, *Religion: If There Is No God . . . On God, the Devil, Sin, and other Worries of the so-called Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books, $7.95, 235 pp.). This confusing title, like a monstrous hat worn at a rakish angle, is due partly to learned insouciance, and partly to the fact that this book represents "religion" in something called The Masterguides Series, edited by Frank Kermode. But the book is mostly about different approaches, positive and negative, to the idea of God, and the author is a master guide indeed. Concern with "illucidating the status *question is*," Kolakowski steadily refuses to draw any conclusions.

Emphatic conclusions abound, on the other hand, in another book with a slightly flippant title, Charles Hartshorne's *Omnipotence, and Other Theological Mistakes* (State University of New York Press, $6.95, 144 pp.). Hartshorne's reputation as a philosopher of religion rests securely on a succession of heavier books produced during a career that began in the 1920s and is still going strong. He has long been the leading exponent, after Whitehead, of process philosophy and the leading modern exponent of the ontological proof for the existence of God. He also advocates a revisionist view of the nature of God, presented clearly in this book designed for a general audience. Such traditional notions as God's immutability, omnipotence, omniscience, and other-

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worldliness, take a lambasting on these pages. Hartshorne's God is in the world, struggling with other liberals to make it better. He/She is, for instance, like Hartshorne himself, an ardent feminist. Who says you can't teach an old dog new tricks?

Grace Jantzen, *God's World, God's Body* (Westminster Press, $6.95, 173 pp.), offers another revisionist view of God.The world is God's body, which sounds Hartshornian if not Spinozistic, but a very different spirit in fact suffuses this book. Writing with a rare combination of analytic rigor and aesthetic sensibility, Jantzen conducts a sensitive dialogue with traditional Christian thinkers and spiritual writers as well as with modern philosophers. A lecturer in the history and philosophy of religion at King's College, London, Jantzen promises to be a major new voice.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 98)

hold part of Ireland for reasons of strategy, geo-politics, and Realpolitik. Any other reason Britain gives will be subterfuge and sham. If Britain wants to leave Ireland, it will and can. Unfortunately for peace, Hume will probably lose out to Sinn Fein, which will gain. The people of Northern Ireland are the losers. The future of many young in Northern Ireland is blighted and doomed. JOHN BRANIGAN

Misplaced guilt

Huntington Station, N.Y.

To the Editors: Despite the fact that a few decades ago Vatican II taught that only a relatively small number of persons, including some Jews, were responsible for Christ's crucifixion, and that the Vatican officially absolved Jews of deicide, the Oberammergau Passion Play continues to foster the notion that Jews bear collective guilt for Jesus' death.

The Bavarian villagers who put on the play, and those who profit from its attraction of tourists from around the world, are guilty of sinning not only against our Semitic brethren, of whom Jesus was one, but also against the Almighty, as we all are children of God despite religious differences.

I suggest that the bishops of the United States petition the Holy See to take action to have the controversial Passion Play omit the offensive allusions. The villagers should be told: "Please change — or else." The "or else" would be the banning of mention of the play in Catholic publications — no editorial writeups or advertisements. DONALD WIETA

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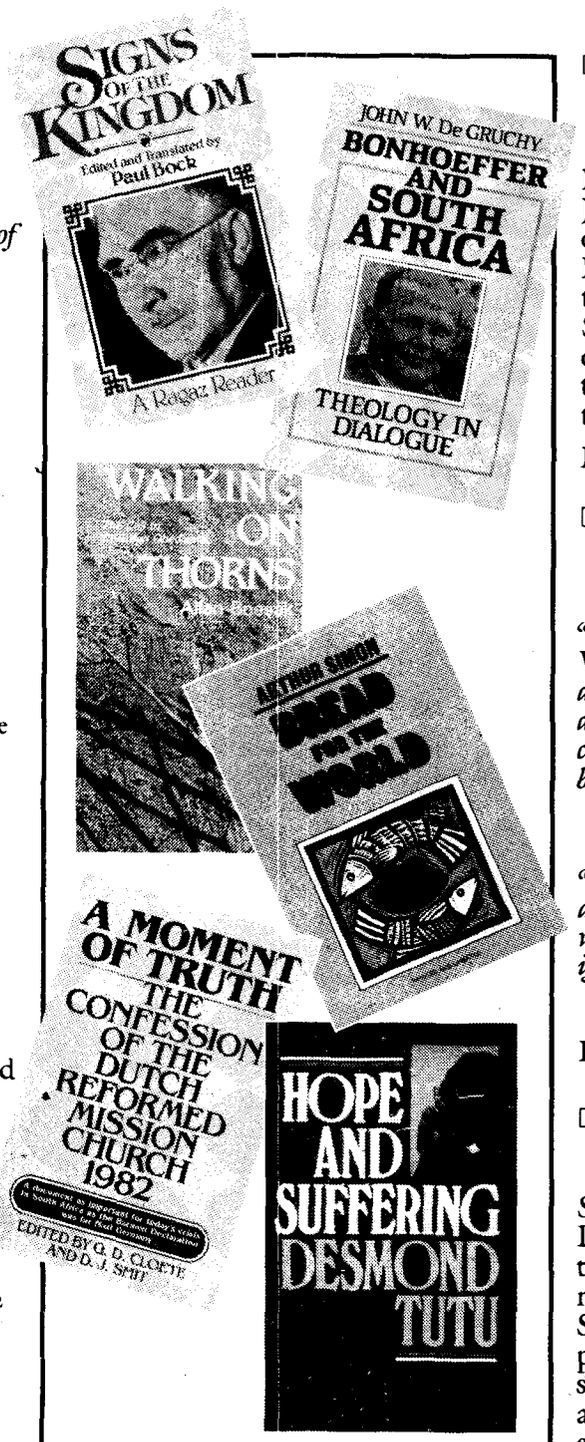
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